

FORUM

TWO-HUNDREDTH ISSUE

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The C.C.F. Convention

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Publishers

The Canadian Forum Limited
28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada
Subscriptions: One Year, \$2; Six Months, \$1

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

Vol. XVII.

Toronto, Ontario, September, 1937

No. 200

Alberta and the Bankers

MR. ABERHART and the bankers are combining to make one grand hullabaloo over the Social Credit situation in Alberta. The rest of our ten million citizens, however, should succeed in remaining fairly calm. The Aberhart legislation is, of course, insane, both from the economic and the constitutional point of view. But there is method in the madness of this shrewd rabble-rouser of Calgary. Nothing would suit him better than for the Dominion government or the Canadian Bankers' Association to provide him with a grievance. He could then demonstrate to the electors of Alberta both his own earnestness in trying to introduce Social Credit and the iniquitous machinations of the Big-Shots in the East in thwarting his efforts. The financial press in the East on their part are also doing their best to create a panic over the supposed danger of unorthodox provincial legislation. They have been at this game, using Hepburn or Aberhart as bogeys, for the last two years. As prosperity returns they are trying to create a public antipathy to all governmental interferences with business. But the shrieks of such journals as the Financial Post over Mr. Aberhart's antics are much too shrill to be really genuine. If skilled corporation lawyers cannot find a way to get round the Aberhartian denial of the courts to dissidents in Alberta, then the legal fraternity of St. James Street and King Street are much less astute than we had thought. So let us ordinary citizens keep cool in sight of all these supposed dangers to Dominion unity, to financial security, and to our British institutions.

Disallowance?

AT THE MOMENT of writing it is too early to know what the Ottawa government is going to do about Mr. Aberhart. Mr. King seems doubtful about giving the Alberta Government a cheap escape from its difficulties with an impatient Alberta electorate by disallowing the Aberhart laws. The move to refer them to the courts seems a fairly skilful counter to the challenge from Edmonton. Dis-

allowance indeed would be a very delicate step for a government headed by such men as Messrs. King and Lapointe. Did not Mr. Lapointe fail to disallow the Quebec Padlock Law, which is just as flagrant an attempt to use the province's control over property and civil rights for the purpose of getting round the federal control of criminal law as is Mr. Aberhart's scheme of getting round the federal control of banking by having recourse to "property and civil rights?" But in the Alberta case the people who have been crying for disallowance are important financial and business interests, while in the Quebec case the only people who were interested in disallowance were mere liberals who had a sentimental regard for traditional British liberties. And of course a Liberal government at Ottawa does not need to worry overmuch about such people. Curiously enough, it is just thirteen years since Mr. Lapointe disallowed another Alberta Act, the Alberta Mineral Taxation Act, which was innocence itself compared with recent legislation. But the petitioners against it included the C.P.R., the Hudson's Bay Company and other companies. And while we are on the subject of disallowance, what does that other eminent Calgarian, the leader of the federal Conservative party, who aspires to become again the prime minister of the Dominion, think about the disallowance of provincial legislation which is flagrantly ultra vires?

The C.C.F. Convention

ALL REPORTS, both from insiders and from side observers, agree that the 1937 Convention of the CCF in Winnipeg was an impressive success. It was a small meeting of delegates, only 63 in all, but at the end of its proceedings they all had a sense of effective work done—which is more than can be said for some previous CCF Conventions, especially the previous Winnipeg one. The Winnipeg Free Press editorial reporter remarked on the difference between 1934 and 1937: "At least four first-class speeches were made yesterday (the first day of the Convention) and the quality of the debating was

an eye-opener. There is a sense of direction, not noticeable in 1934, at this meeting. These citizens seem to know where they are going. They don't hesitate any more to call themselves Socialists." He paid notable tribute to the new Chairman, Mr. M. J. Coldwell, and to the national organizer, Mr. E. J. Garland; and one realizes the value of such tribute when one compares it with what the same writer has had to say in times past about various Liberal and Conservative and Social Credit big-wigs who have visited Winnipeg and whose oratorical performances he has reported. What made this Convention worth while was the unity of purpose which marked it. The old "united front" issue was almost dead, and the delegates devoted themselves to making concrete plans for action in place of drafting articles of faith. The Convention listened to most encouraging reports about organization in rural areas. If the CCF can seize the opportunity which faces it in the industrial developments in eastern Canada, it will make the sham battle of Liberals and Conservatives look very unreal by the time that the next federal election comes round.

The Dominion Textile Strike

AT LONG LAST The Catholic Unions have come to life in Quebec. The solidarity of these French Canadian workers who have always been considered by employers as docile sheep ready, willing and "able" to take wage cuts show beyond doubt that their burden has become intolerable. They ask only to come under a provincial law, the Workmen's Wages Act (successor to the Collective Agreements Act); and they are ready to accept their present wages—in the Montmerency plant last year average wages were \$13.80 for a 55-hour week—if the company will bargain collectively and shorten hours from 55 to 48. As to the ability of the company to pay these wages, the original shareholders are getting 150 per cent. return each year on their original investment of which group the President of the Company is one. The demands of the employees deprive the company of almost all the ordinary battle cries. "Communism," "foreign agitators," "defiance of the law," reducing it to the one old stand-by of "violence," shouted fortissimo. The "violence" so far has been surprisingly little. What there has been is the normal fruit of long years of "labour peace," over which Quebec employers have so often rejoiced. Quebec labour is on the march, even in the Catholic unions. But where are Cardinal Villeneuve and Archbishop Gauthier? They were prompt enough, in the garment strike, to intervene on behalf of the Catholic union. Why are they silent now?

Non-Intervention; Mr. King's Gesture

DEMOCRATS all over the world now hold their noses at the very mention of "non-intervention" in Spain. Mr. Mackenzie King chooses this moment to apply to Spain his new Foreign Enlistment Act and an even newer measure to control the arms traffic. The practical effect of this disgraceful breach of normal international law will be negligible; but the fact remains that a Canadian "Liberal" government has placed on the same footing a legally constituted democratic government, with which it is supposed to be in friendly diplomatic relations, and the rebels against that government. There are rumours that the arms export legislation will be applied also to the new Sino-Japanese "armed conflict." This seems improbable. Our trade with Japan, consisting largely of exports of nickel and other war materials, is much larger than with Spain, and the Cardinal is not interested.

Industrial Insurance

MR. RONALD GRAHAM in the July number of the Canadian Forum set forth the evils of the present system of industrial insurance in Canada. He pointed out the extreme expensiveness of this form of insurance, an expensiveness whose effects are the more anti-social because the people who pay are the poorer classes in the community. The points he made have been substantially repeated in a criticism of the system of industrial insurance in Great Britain which appears in the latest broadsheet issued by PEP. "Political and Economic Planning" is a group of English students and publicists, mostly Conservatives, whose publications in recent years have won widespread attention. In this latest pamphlet they review a work by Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., and Professor Hermann Levy, entitled "Industrial Assurance—An Historical and Critical Study." They express their agreement with the conclusions of these eminent authors that the present system wastes the savings of the wage-earner and that there can be no satisfactory alternative to nationalisation. But they go on to point out that nationalisation faces the implacable opposition of the immensely powerful insurance companies and their agents and that this fact deters politicians of all parties from tackling the problem. "Even the press, with large advertising appropriations at stake, is not conspicuously anxious to give the subject prominence." Industrial insurance, i.e., the process of insuring by small weekly or monthly payments collected from house to house, is much more highly developed in Britain than in Canada. PEP concludes that it would be highly discreditable to an

honest democracy if the vested interests of the insurance companies were allowed to stand in the way of a necessary reform affecting the lives and happiness of the great majority of British families. In Canada we do not need to use the conditional "would be discreditable." Our insurance companies are so powerful that the ordinary Canadian does not know that there is any alternative to their highly expensive activities.

Concerning Regimentation

WE ALL KNOW how worried our big business men are about the changes of regimentation in a society dominated by socialist ideas and practices. In fact the solicitude of these libertarians for the free activity of the individual citizen is one of the most touching spectacles of our time. Edna Millay has recently published a volume of poetry which seems to us to have some interesting observations on this topic of regimentation. It is entitled "Conversation at Midnight," and it sets forth the talk of a group of New Yorkers on current issues. One of them, a capitalist, grows sentimentally sorrowful about the regimented society of the

future, and he is answered by a communist:

You, an individual?—you, you regimented mouse?
You, Harvard Club, Union Club, white tie for the
opera, black tie for the theatre,

Trouser legs a little wider this year, sir,
I would suggest dark blue instead of black, sir,
Pumps are no longer worn, sir.

Mah-Jongg, crossword, anagram, back-gammon,
whist, bridge, auction, contract, regimented
mouse!

Why, you're so accustomed to being flanked to right
and left by people just like yourself

That if they ever should step aside you couldn't
stand up!

You, an individual?

You salad for luncheon, soup for dinner,
Maine for summer, Florida for winter,
Wife-pampering dog-worshipper!

We gather that the critics don't think much of
Miss Millay's latest volume considered as poetry.
But, frankly, we wish that some Communists whom
we know could talk like this.

The C.C.F. Convention

KING GORDON

THE FIRST STAGE of any movement is educational and propagandist. It is usually marked by rapid growth, burning zeal, unflagging missionary enterprise. It is frequently accomplished by millennial hopes and numbers of adherents who look for a rapid crossing of a bone-dry Jordan into the promised land. The strength of a movement in its first stage is frequently overestimated by friends and foes alike. There were not a few who thought that the CCF would be the official opposition in the Dominion House just three years after its birth, and were disappointed when it polled a mere four-hundred thousand votes and sent to Ottawa but seven members. There were others who, thrilled at the extraordinary advance of Canadian socialism within the first three years of the CCF movement, looked with confidence to the steady growth of the movement by means of the same methods of education and propaganda which apparently accounted for its rapid rise. Both groups were wrong in thinking that a movement aiming at the taking of power can achieve its objective by methods suited to the first stage of its existence. A movement that remains too long in the first stage will die. It must move on into the second stage.

Such, in substance, was the central theme in the speech of the Secretary to the Fifth Annual Convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation meeting in Winnipeg, August 26-27. The deliberations of the Convention and the decisions taken, showed quite clearly that the CCF was prepared to advance, in fact had already advanced, into its second stage. To delegates and observers alike, the Convention gave the impression of a socialist party that meant business, a party that had emerged from the stage of theoretical discussions in the field of social and political analysis, and entered into the realm of social and political realities. It was significant that a convention which was the most unreservedly socialist in the history of the movement was also the most realistic when it came to coping with immediate problems in the present Canadian scene. It is perhaps too much to hope that Canadian radicals are at last stumbling upon some of the essential truths first brought to light by those mighty pioneers of historical social analysis, Marx and Engels. "Too much to hope" because there is still a great deal of vague and ill-defined idealism, still too much—in other quarters—narrow political and economic dogmatism. With such qualifications

it is only fair to say that the 1937 Convention represented an important and a very necessary step forward. If the step had not been taken the movement might well have deteriorated, in the national field, into a comparatively small sect of left-wing political purists, and in the provincial field, into a loosely connected chain of opportunistic party machines. Now there is little danger of either fate overtaking the movement.

There are three distinct signs of this advance into the second stage. In the first place, in contrast with the great Regina Convention of 1933 where the Manifesto was hammered out in the form that has remained essentially unaltered, the Winnipeg Convention concentrated its efforts on political and economic subjects of immediate concern. The Convention was held against the immediate background of Western Canadian disaster of the first magnitude. The most powerful speech of the convention was Mr. M. J. Coldwell's on the drought situation. The most comprehensive and carefully worked out resolution was on the subject of drought relief and agricultural rehabilitation. The largest delegation was from the province the hardest hit in the Dominion, and Saskatchewan delegates made contributions to the debate which were not only the most poignant but also the most realistic in suggestions for meeting this national calamity. In a similar way the question of civil liberties caught the attention of the Convention—not civil liberties in the abstract as covered by the clause in the manifesto, but civil liberties as concretely menaced by the fascist tactics of a Duplessis or a Hepburn, or by the under-cover activity of R.C.M.P. and the open violence of provincial and local police. So, too, in the field of industrial activity. Within the Convention, in spite of the preponderance of western delegates, there was a genuine awareness of the significance of the remarkable advances in the field of trade unionism. Ontario and Quebec delegates carried first-hand reports of Oshawa and Cornwall, of sympathetic co-operation between CCF members and clubs and the new and militant trade unionism. The resolutions passed were no formal gestures of congratulation to organized labour in its new gains; they represented genuine offers of co-operation, based upon the recognition of a new and indispensable ally in the struggle for a reconstructed society. For the first time in the history of the labour and socialist movements in Canada there is at least a hope of close co-operation, if not actual affiliation, between the more aggressive sections of organized labour and the radical political movement of Canadian farmers and industrial and professional workers. In each of these decisions of the Convention the line taken was completely in accord with fundamental socialist theory, but in each case there was evident an historical awareness

that was absent from the first Convention.

The second indication of advance into the second phase was the marked improvement in the organizational set-up. Taking into consideration the lack of adequate resources, adequately paid staff and organizers, adequate technique of organizational extension, the past record of the CCF has been little short of miraculous. But the movement has suffered tremendously from such lacks, suffered because many of its most valuable leaders have been financially unable to give full time to organizational work, suffered because there have been no funds for literature, no funds for the ordinary activities of a national office. It appeared quite evident to members of the convention that the movement was in for a serious recession unless drastic measures were taken to perfect organization and raise adequate finances. Too long has the CCF congratulated itself upon being a party so free from great interests that it has been carried along by the dimes and nickels of its impecunious members. The CCF will never receive substantial support from those interests that it seeks ultimately to destroy, but until now it has made no serious attempt to place financial responsibility fairly upon the shoulders of its membership and supporters. It came as a shock to delegates to learn that the vastly increased budget proposed for the coming year was less than the budget of many an individual congregation in the larger Canadian cities. The budget proposed was of course related to a tremendous increase in activity—traveling national organizers to cover every part of the Dominion, French language organizers, organizers for the women's work, organizers for youth. To direct this organizational advance Mr. M. J. Coldwell, M.P., was made chairman of the National Council, Mr. Woodsworth remaining as President of the CCF and leader of the CCF party in the House.

There was a third indication of advance which was most noticeable to those who followed carefully the debates on the floor as well as the discussions in the lobbies and at the luncheon tables. The greatest gains made by the CCF during the past few years appear to have been made in the provincial fields. In three of the four western provinces the CCF has polled a respectable vote and elected members to the legislatures. In the recent B.C. election, as noted in the Canadian Forum of July, the vote remained solid despite the unfortunate developments within the party during the last year. In Saskatchewan it becomes more and more evident that the CCF will make a strong bid for power in the next election. In Manitoba, while ILP-CCF dissension has undoubtedly held back progress, the last provincial contest revealed surprising strength not only in the metropolitan area but also in rural districts. These advances have led some to believe that the

national aspect of the CCF will tend more and more to be obscured by the considerations of expediency which are bound to come into the formulation of provincial platforms and the organization of provincial campaigns. Indeed, there have been a few indications that rifts between provincial and national organizations were widening.

The Winnipeg Convention gave a definite no to such threats of disintegration. Leaders of the strongest provincial organizations gave assurance of their concern in the national movement and pledged the fullest support to schemes for the advancement of the national organization. Such assurances were based upon a growing recognition of the necessity of a strong national movement to the success of provincial movements as well as upon the frequently demonstrated concern of national leaders to lend all possible aid to provincial campaigns. It is perhaps not unfitting that a socialist movement should

give leadership in resisting the trends towards regionalism and provincialism which have characterized Canadian political development since the depression. For there is no sanity in the belief that Canadian problems can be solved upon a narrow regional basis, by socialist or by any other governments. A national plan is necessary for the solution of Canadian problems essentially national in character. A Dominion socialist party in power is necessary to carry the plan into effect. But provincial socialist parties in power can do much in putting into effect remedial measures as well as contributing invaluable assistance to the carrying out of a national plan.

The CCF has entered the second stage of political realism, organizational efficiency and national consciousness. The third stage is planning for power.

The Newspaper Guild and Civil Liberties

T. H. HARRIS

IN JUNE, 1936, the American Newspaper Guild, then three years old, was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor as an international union. To Canadian newspapermen, who long had dreamed of the organization of newspaper editorial workers in the Dominion, that grant of charter implied that their dreams might become a reality. The struggle of their fellow-workers in the United States to build up an organization that could effectively deal with publishers had been watched with intense interest by newspapermen in this country. They remembered previous unsuccessful attempts here—through the International Typographical Union and as locals chartered by the A. F. of L. With this history before them, there were many in Canada who eyed the new organization effort across the border rather sceptically. But scepticism vanished and respect took its place. The A.N.G. was adding rapidly to its membership and was winning agreement after agreement with United States publishers. These agreements called for shorter hours, higher wages and greater job security.

When A.N.G. became an international union last year, a thorough understanding of what the Guild had accomplished in the United States found groups of Canadian editorial workers—men and women—ready to take the steps necessary to the forming of locals in their respective cities. In the autumn of 1936 the Toronto Newspaper Guild was born; later, a guild was established in Vancouver; in April of this year, a group in Montreal received a charter as the

third local of the A.N.G. in the Dominion.

There were never any misconceptions regarding the attitude newspaper owners would assume. From the first, those active in the organization of the Canadian Guilds reckoned on publisher opposition. History of the Guild in the United States made it amply plain that no point, not even the smallest, was to be won without a fight. And very little time was allowed to elapse before the Canadian publishers showed that they were no less determined than their American confrères to thwart any attempt of their editorial workers to exercise their right to join an organization of their own choosing for the purpose of collective bargaining.

Less than a year has passed since the chartering of the first Canadian Guild and today the A.N.G. in Canada is struggling for existence. Its struggle involves the long-established civil right of free association and should command the attention of all progressive Canadians.

First blow at Guild organization was struck early in June by The Toronto Mail and Globe when Harry R. Farmer, president of the Toronto Guild, was discharged after ten years' service on The Globe and The Globe and Mail. The dismissal came at a time when the Toronto Guild was completely unprepared for appropriate retaliatory action. Being the head of the oldest Canadian Guild, Farmer had been nominated as first Canadian vice-president of the A.N.G. He had arranged to take his vacation to attend the Guild's fourth annual convention, at

St. Louis, Mo., where his election was to take place. Just before he left for the convention, he was discharged. To his claim on the convention floor that he had been made the first victim of publisher opposition to the Guild. The *Globe and Mail* replied, in the face of thoroughly reliable testimony to the contrary, that Farmers' Guild activity had nothing to do with his dismissal. Whereas previously the secretary of the Toronto Local had been intimidated into withdrawing from the Guild by The *Globe and Mail*. Farmer's Case has been taken up by the Toronto Trades and Labor Council. A delegation was sent to Mr. McCullough, the President, who asserted that he was a sincere friend of labor but his opinion of the C.I.O. was violently expressed in the language of a bargee. Different attitudes have been taken by the two Toronto evening papers. The *Telegram* has posted a notice on their bulletin board stating that any employee who joined the Guild would jeopardize his job, at this all save one of the *Telegram* local resigned from the Guild. The *Star*, which has supported editorially labor's right to free association, has no objection to its employees joining the Guild but will not allow itself to be used as a spearhead in a drive on other papers.

Second attack against the Guild came three weeks later in Montreal. On June 23, a number of the staff of The *Gazette* were individually warned by the managing editor that they were jeopardizing their positions by joining or retaining membership in the Montreal Guild. Later that day R. A. C. Ballantyne, president of the Montreal Guild and delegate to the St. Louis convention, was dismissed summarily after nine and one-half years' service on the paper. When Ballantyne demanded a reason for his dismissal the managing editor did two contradictory things. First, he stated that he had "not been empowered" to advance a reason; second, he made it plain beyond all shadow of doubt that the dismissal of Ballantyne came about as a result of his union activity. He indicated that the management of The *Gazette* was determined to crush the Guild organization.

Response to this ruthless and illegal attack by members of The *Gazette* unit of the Guild was immediate. Next day, this unit unanimously authorized the executive committee of the Montreal Guild to call a strike at its discretion—upon failure of effort to obtain Ballantyne's unconditional reinstatement. An attempt was made by the Montreal executive to settle the dispute by negotiation. To this end, a delegation headed by Raoul Trepanier, president of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, sought an interview with Paul E. Bilkey, editor-in-chief. Bilkey curtly refused to see them. The matter was then placed before the Hon. William Tremblay, Quebec Minister of Labor, who delegated Clovis Ber-

nier, an official of the department, to investigate. In his official capacity, Bernier twice requested an interview with Bilkey and twice was refused.

Meanwhile The *Gazette* management received a delegation of employees requesting Ballantyne's reinstatement; and on Saturday, July 10, a director of The *Gazette* offered him his position back — on condition that he drop his office in the Guild and cease organization work. This proposal, of course, was unacceptable to Ballantyne and to the Guild and was rejected.

Again the aid of the Provincial Government was sought and at a conference between the Hon. Mr. Tremblay, Raoul Trepanier and Ballantyne, the Minister of Labor advised the Guild to petition the Attorney-General of Quebec (who is also premier) for permission to take action against The *Gazette* under the "Act Respecting Workmen's Wages" passed at the last session of the legislature. This act is supposed to be designed to protect workers from intimidation and discrimination and declares that "whoever, directly or indirectly, prevents an employee from becoming a member of an association, commits an unlawful act and shall be liable on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars and costs for the first offence, and to a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars but not exceeding fifty dollars for the second offence or for any subsequent offence. . . . The suit may be brought by the minister of labor, by the committee (the joint committee in the event of a collective agreement) or by any person having the written authorization of the Attorney-General."

With the approval of the local executive, a petition was immediately despatched to the Hon. Maurice Duplessis, invoking this law for the first time by requesting permission to take suit. This petition was sent to Quebec July 15. On July 26 a letter was received from the Attorney-General's secretary stating that the petition was being turned over to Mr. Duplessis. At this writing, no further word has been received.

Mistakenly or not, the Guild had made no attempt to publicize the situation until Ballantyne rejected the company's offer of conditional reinstatement. It was felt that the absence of publicity would enable The *Gazette* to reinstate the president of the Montreal Guild without "loss of face." However, when the company proposal was refused and the petition despatched to Quebec, the Guild launched a campaign to acquaint the public with the situation. They found, as indeed they had expected to find, that the publishers were united in refusing them their columns. The *Gazette* sought to persuade the other Montreal dailies and the weeklies not to print the story and none did, with the exception of *L'Illustration*, French morn-

ing daily. The paper reported on the sending of the petition to Quebec, and the day following, in its account of a meeting of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, reported that the Council had passed a resolution protesting Ballantyne's discharge and calling upon The Gazette to reinstate him unconditionally. Subsequently The Gazette was apparently able to bring its influence to bear upon the publishers of L'Illustration and no further details regarding the situation have appeared in that paper.

The Guild has been given the whole-hearted support of the Trades and Labor Council. The Council has circularized its members, advising them of the matter and requesting them to address letters of protest to The Gazette. Other central labor bodies in the Dominion have also been circularized. It is evident that the Council realizes that the Guild's fight is of vital interest to the trade union movement in this country and it is to be noted that this realization is shared by all the international unions in the province. On August 1, a provincial conference of labor held at Three Rivers denounced The Gazette and pledged the Guild its full support.

But if the Guild is to succeed, it needs all the support it can get. The Provincial Government has not shown itself friendly to organized labor, especially to the international unions, and there are clear indications that it finds the situation embarrassing. If it refuses to grant Ballantyne's petition it acknowledges that (1) the law is of doubtful constitutionality or (2) the section of the law which the Guild has invoked was never intended to be enforced. Thus the Government has been placed in the position where it must choose between a friendly newspaper and the large number of votes represented by the international unions in the province.

The Guild has found an ally in the recently-formed Civil Liberties Union, which has pledged full aid and co-operation. R. L. Calder, K.C., chairman of the Union, has written to the Attorney-General informing him that if the Government refuses to grant Ballantyne's request the Union will consider the section of the law invoked a "dead letter" and will be forced to consider other means of adjusting the matter. This, presumably, would take the form of a civil action.

The Montreal Guild's present fight has brought to light the painful inadequacy of the Quebec provincial statute as a means of protecting the right of all workers to organize. Labor Minister Tremblay hailed it as a law "with teeth," but events so far have indicated that it can be openly flouted by employers. The measure makes no provision, for example, for the re-engagement of the victim if the employer is declared guilty of the offence, but pre-

sumably a civil suit may be brought against such employer. In any event, it has been pointed out that if The Gazette is condemned under the act, the paper's editorial attacks on trade unions as "lawbreakers" will not carry conviction.

If The Gazette's attack and that of The Globe and Mail were designed to demoralize and completely crush the Guild in Canada, those attacks have fallen far short of their mark. Organized labor in Ontario has rallied solidly behind the Toronto Guild to obtain Farmer's reinstatement. In addition to organized labor, progressive groups and individuals are rallying behind the Guild in Montreal. To progressive opinion throughout the Dominion, the National Council of the CCF in convention at Winnipeg gave the lead when it passed a resolution deploring Ballantyne's discharge and endorsing the Guild's fight to establish the right of free association.

The publishers' onslaught also has served to arouse interest in the Guild in cities where hitherto no attempts had been made at organization. Since Ballantyne was fired the Guild has added to its membership in Montreal and now numbers 135 editorial workers on both English and French papers, while in Toronto there are 149 members somewhat unevenly spread over the various papers. The seeds of organization are being sewn in other cities in Quebec. Other Guilds are in process of formation across the Dominion.

Pyrotechnical

Today we have fun
In corpse-making mechanisms.
Hands pull levers
Dropping bombs;
Fingers press buttons
To blast cities.
Lips murmur: "How ingenious!"
Eyes shine happily in the thought
"The Government's behind us!"
Enjoying the wonderful toys—
Fire-crackers for grown-ups.

How we love the empty sleeve,
The blood-soaked uniform,
The jawless face, hospital lives!
Exactly how many men should die
To settle a dispute?

ALAN CREIGHTON.



Tactics in the Ontario Elections

JOHN CHARLES

BY A STRANGE trick of fate, Mackenzie's centenary brings again a crisis in Ontario politics. The election now imminent is no ordinary one, no usual game of ins and outs wherein Grit and Tory stage again the sham battles of the past. The result of this contest will affect the daily lives of all, and the manner in which it is waged will have meaning for the future.

For the first time in the history of Ontario the class struggle has been dragged into politics. The curious fact that the actual dragging in was not done by the workers themselves is of no moment. What is important is that the existence of the class struggle, so long denied or ignored by the leaders in our public life, has now become apparent to many citizens for the first time. The natural absence in this stage of any general theoretical comprehension of the situation has not prevented the making of one main point: That the interests of capital and labor are opposed. With this realization begins a new period in the history of the workers of this province.

Satisfaction with this development must be severely tempered by other considerations. It would be dangerous to suppose that the labor movement will inevitably gain in strength and understanding over a period of time until it is ready to make a new social order; or that any third party will necessarily enjoy, on the analogy of the British Labor Party, generations or even decades of increase. In the first place, the very fact that realism has come to Ontario politics comparatively late in the day is likely to result in the telescoping of historical stages, for the contending theories developed and clarified in Europe by the struggles of a century come to us ready-made. In the second place, it must be remembered that this is 1937, and that capitalism has learned some new tricks in recent years. The modern answer to socialism is not the contempt of laissez-faire individualism, but the methodical repression of fascism.

In Ontario the dominant figure is Mitchell Hepburn. This man publicly approves the maiming of sit-down strikers by an armed mob without interference from the authorities; makes statements about the granting or refusal of bail for which he has no authority; interferes precipitately in a most peaceful and orderly strike of automobile workers and does his best to prevent them negotiating with the company through representatives of their own choice; organizes his own private army, for which the public is still paying, because the Domin-

ion authorities will not hastily dispatch the mounties to the strike scene; rudely fires the only two progressive ministers in his cabinet, leaving a residue of yes-men; expresses horror at the thought of the miners being organized, for that would send stocks tumbling; and lately, at the news that workers in the tobacco fields are being circularized to ask for higher pay, offers the provincial forces to local authorities to deal with foreign agitators. The list is merely typical, not exhaustive. More significant and more dangerous than this egotistical onion-farmer is the group which is backing him in his reactionary policies. Unquestionably the industrial and financial magnates, whatever their previous party alignments if any, are behind him almost to a man. Some of them used to be Tories, but they know on which side of their bread the jam lies. Since these men feel that in this election their interests are vitally concerned, their support will not be moral only, but heavily monetary. Most newspaper owners, following the lead of the mining-interest *Globe and Mail*, are supporting reaction in news columns as well as in editorials.

In the light of recent events, the elements of the Ontario situation and the personalities involved, what will happen if Mr. Hepburn wins a sweeping victory at the polls? No one can tell exactly, but this much is certain: at the best we shall have the most reactionary government in Ontario's history, and a severe set-back to the labor movement; at the worst we shall take a step down the road to fascism. It can happen here, and it will happen here unless we now prevent it.

Let us now turn from the broader aspects of the political scene to an examination of the various parties now upon the stage, so that we may reach some conclusions as to socialist tactics in this particular situation.

The Liberal party has a vigorous, dynamic leader. It will have the largest campaign funds ever to be used in an Ontario election, incomparably larger than those which will be at the disposal of the Tories. It will be actively and violently supported by most of the newspapers, and nearly all the remainder will be lukewarm, rendered ineffectual by a conflict between past political traditions and present interests; very few will be vigorously opposed. It will be able to appeal to farmer prejudice against trade unions, and to sway large masses of the population by playing up the red bogey and foreign agitators to the full. It will again have the Roman Catholic vote, which holds the balance of

power in a number of ridings, notwithstanding Mr. Hepburn's crawl on the separate schools issue; similar benefits may possibly be attained in more round-about ways. Doubtful factors are the thousands of personal enemies made by the "Hepburn Axe" when balanced against the horde of new office-holders; and the vociferous opponents of the power legislation, now largely reconciled by the new contracts with some companies and the emergence of labor questions. On the other side of the scale must be placed the antagonism of the trade unions, and most urban workers. Less weighty, but not to be overlooked, is some lingering and largely unreasonable resentment, especially in rural districts, over the separate schools issue. Prospects of a split in the Liberal party pleased radicals for a time, but were never very substantial; notwithstanding a few notable exceptions, and some occasional murmuring in the ranks, self-interest on the eve of an election will unite the Liberals.

The Conservative leader is a man of more independence and intelligence than is generally credited in left wing circles; but he lacks color. His party will be handicapped by lack of adequate funds, for the wealthy men are deserting. It is difficult for radicals, who are used to fighting elections without money, to realize the seriousness of this defection to one of the old-line parties. There is, however, an element in the Conservative party which seems to be ignored by its opponents on the left: a considerable number in its ranks and a few in its high posts have acquired a viewpoint which is very progressive by comparison with that of the men who now control the provincial Liberal party. Mr. Bennett's new deal, though abruptly abandoned, had a substantial effect on his followers; some of those whom Mr. Stevens led into the wilderness have returned with new ideas; Mr. Herridge's rare orations are welcomed. Radicals, unduly impressed by party labels and foreign political patterns and unable to overlook the past misdeeds of the Conservatives, have been making no distinction between them and the Liberals; indeed the latter have had an advantage to date through the publicity given to a small handful of true liberals who have rebelled against the party line. More careful consideration of the situation as it exists today indicates beyond doubt that a Conservative Government would be less reactionary, and therefore preferable to a Liberal one. In the long run the Tories will betray the workers, of course, but in Ontario in 1937 they are a lesser evil than the Liberals.

The C.C.F. lacks a leader who will catch the imagination of the people, though its chiefs are respected and personally liked by their intimates. Its finances will be better planned than formerly, but as usual the campaign funds will be inadequate. The

active members, though few in numbers, seem loyal and willing to work. It has no press of any use in winning the support of non-party voters. With the exception of a few scattered rural districts, the strength of the C.C.F. is chiefly in urban ridings.

The Communists have clearly gained in strength. Their campaign for unity, ceaselessly carried on and considerably aided by events overseas, has won appreciable support in some trade union quarters, and their temporary "progressive" policies have gained the sympathy of many people who do not know what socialism is all about. Their daily paper, whose circulation seems to be increasing, has a little influence outside the party ranks. Their strength is confined to urban ridings, and is principally concentrated in a few of these. Those who are inclined to ignore the Communists as a serious factor should refer to the results of the last municipal elections in Toronto and its suburbs.

What of a new Labor party? For many reasons, including the lack of time, it is most unlikely that any such party will spring up independently of existing left wing parties. There may well be a Labor party, but if so the C.C.F. or the Communist party or both will have a hand in it.

What are the chances of left wing candidates in this complicated situation? It is submitted that two conclusions are inevitable, though they may be disagreeable to most socialists: 1. **Broadly speaking no left wing candidate will have a chance in a rural riding.** This simple fact, clear to nearly all, needs to be taken into account in determining tactics.

2. **In urban ridings, where chances should be excellent, a division of forces will result in the defeat of left wing candidates who would otherwise be elected.** Putting aside for the moment the bitterness and prejudices in which the subject now touched is wrapped, the truth of the statement should be as obvious as that of the former. It is true that different conclusions may be drawn from the same set of facts, but any tactics which are not based at all on facts cannot be effective.

There will be splits in the urban ridings unless socialists take steps to prevent them, in other words unless there is a very considerable modification of the policy of the C.C.F. The party answer is the Farmer Labor Party of Ontario, and if trades unionists and Communists are sincere about advancing the cause of Socialism they should join the C.C.F. Few arguments could, in the present circumstances, be less realistic. Disregarding the idea that these people outside the fold may have their own misguided reasons for not joining the C.C.F., which seem to appeal to their inferior mentalities, the all-important fact remains that they are not going to join the C.C.F., just now at any rate.

Furthermore, they will be stubborn enough to run their own candidates in some ridings, and in most cases two left wing candidates will only succeed in defeating each other. It is not a question of who is to blame but a question of what should be done about it.

Now that we have come to the conclusions, it seems hardly necessary to state them. It will be sufficient for present purposes, and advisable on grounds of policy, to suggest principles rather than details.

1. The campaign should be concentrated in a limited number of ridings, say thirty, and no others should be contested.

2. These seats should be urban or largely urban, with only one or two possible exceptions.

3. Supporters in the other sixty ridings should be encouraged to vote in accordance with the exigencies of the situation as previously outlined.

4. In the ridings to be contested, every effort should be made to see that only one left-wing candidate is in the field. This may be accomplished without any fusion of parties, groups or policies, and requires only a limited amount of give and take and a determination to defeat the present government.

Although these tactics would be amply justified by the achievement of their main purpose, they might well secure an additional prize. The Conservatives are unlikely to gain a real victory in this election under any circumstances, and a stalemate between the two old parties would give a third group the balance of power. The importance of such a result, in immediate benefits to the workers and for effective propaganda can scarcely be underestimated. This happy outcome is very possible, but only on condition that proper strategy is employed.

If the opportunity which springs from the danger of this Ontario crisis is not grasped, socialists will have to take a large share of the blame. It is to be feared, indeed, that the process of throwing away this opportunity will have begun before this article reaches print. Enthusiasm and faith in ultimate aims, while admirable and necessary, are not sufficient as guides to political action, whose rights and wrongs must often, be decided with reference to the circumstances of a particular case. This is no time to preach the new social order. This is the time to beat Mitch Hepburn.

Editor's Note: We print this article of Mr. Charles' because of its valuable analysis of the political situation in Ontario. It should be pointed out, however, that the C.C.F. in both National and Provincial Conventions has repeatedly ruled against the kind of co-operation with other political parties that he advocates.

Another Month

Suicide, insanity, starvation and sickness stalk 9,000,000 drought-stricken acres of Saskatchewan prairie as the East lolls in indifference.

Ottawa orders 30 bombing planes, appoints yet another Royal Commission and does nothing for Saskatchewan. William "Aime Semple McPherson" Aberhart receives his long sought for crown of thorns from the Dominion Government as they veto his banking legislation. Strike-breaking companies are done out of their jobs by Provincial police in Ontario and Quebec textile strikes.

In the U.S. Roosevelt's court plan is killed amidst rejoicing of reactionary press and intellectual liberals. Senator Black is nominated to the Supreme Court on snap decision; "He will be tops as justice."—Senator Minton; "the worst insult that has yet been given to the nation."—Representative Cox.

The Senate's conventional courtesy rule of prompt ratification of appointments from its ranks is abrogated for the first time since 1888. \$100 profit per car is not enough for General Motors (six months' advertising bill, magazines and radio, \$5,456,000) as price boost on 1938 cars is announced. Special prosecutor Dewey joins La Guardia ticket in New York Mayoralty race, charging long standing alliance of crime with Tammany Hall.

England prepares to openly join Fascist front and recognize Italy's rape of Ethiopia as Chamberlain sends love letter to Il Duce, but no English military observer is invited to Italian war games. Cabinet reorganization is rumoured—Eden to go, to be replaced by the pro-German tax-dodging Viscount Halifax. Emergency cabinet meeting is called to safeguard Imperial interests in China.

In Germany, Nazi's reign of brute force bows to public opinion as trial of Pastor Niemoller is postponed. Currency circulation reaches highest figure since post-war inflation period. Hitler is proclaimed as religious prophet superior to the Pope and Luther.

Terrific battle rages around Shanghai as Japan's war to force China into anti-Soviet alliance gathers force in face of unexpected Chinese solidarity. Residents of International Settlement of Shanghai — "the greatest trouble spot in all China which foils all attempts of Nanking to improve internal conditions"—dodge shells in hasty evacuation as Britain's Japanese ambassador's dog is buried with all honour in Montreal.

In Spain Franco's holy legions continue drive of obliteration against Basque Catholics as first public mass is said in Madrid. While in Italy new circulation dodge is tried by Mussolini's personal organ, Popolo d'Italia: all fascists are ordered to subscribe.

At the airport of Mosul, Sidky Pasha, dictator of Iraq, who gained power by a political murder and is known as the massacrer of unarmed Assyrians, is himself assassinated.

Our Alice-in-Wonderland system registers two notable victories: Cotton prices break \$2.00 per bale in anticipation of best crop in U.S. history. Cotton farmers become desperate and beseech congress to do something. The price of wheat bounces up on Winnipeg market, thanks to drought and reports of poor South American crop.

RUFUS II.

The American Church and the Vested Interests

(Part II)

V. F. CALVERTON

AFTER the Civil War American Christianity developed a new form of alliance. While the sectional scars were not healed, they eventually faded and lost their significance. In the North, where industry became the imperial tyrant that subjected the rest of the country to its sway, Christianity became dominated by big business. The wealthy industrialists and financiers who arose during those days when the vast American fortunes were being accumulated were all church members who converted religion into an extension of big business. With the exception of Andrew Carnegie who did not affiliate himself with any creed, they almost all found the church a social asset which could be very easily and effectively exploited. Within a very short period of time the control of church finances was taken out of the hands of the clergymen and thrust into the hands of business men. These business men were soon able to transform the churches into financial institutions which were more concerned with paying off mortgages and making wise investments than with saving souls. Even the Methodists, who in earlier days had sprung almost exclusively from the lower middle class, proceeded to build expensive churches and Sunday schools, with the result that many of their poorer members soon split off into independent congregations. In the main, however, the poor continued to stay in the old church bodies, unaware of the financial control which the wealthy exerted over church organization and doctrine.

That control has increased with rapid strides since those days and is more firmly entrenched at the present time than ever before. In a word, even the humbler churches, which had once been dominated by the people of the lower middle class, fell into the power of the more prosperous. That does not mean, however, that in numerical ratio the rich have become the majority in these church bodies. On the contrary, the lower middle-class elements still dominate in numbers but not in control. Financial power drove democracy out of the churches as well as out of politics. In the matter of who's who in the American churches today, Niebuhr's analysis in his *Social Sources of Denominationalism* is still sound. André Siegfried has described the same categories a little more picturesquely, if less precisely and conclusively, in his book, *"America Comes of Age:"*

"In general the Anglicans belong to the wealthy

upper classes, while the Methodists are the well-to-do tradespeople whom God has pleased to bless in business. The Baptists are smaller folk, without prestige, who live in the third-rate towns; the Presbyterians and Congregationalists are the descendants of the New England intellectuals of fifty years ago; the Lutherans, the timid and suspicious Germans; the Quakers, the solid bourgeois with money bags and scrupulous consciences; and finally, the Catholics are foreigners 'inferior' in race and class, and accordingly despised by the Anglo-Saxon Pharisees."

Siegfried has exaggerated the categories in certain places, but in the main he is reasonably accurate. He is, of course, entirely wrong in his original contention that American religious tradition is "essentially Calvinistic." In many ways it has been the very reverse. Dissent, with its Wycliffian, Lollard origins, drove Calvinism to retreat in America, as we have shown, and substituted a democratic, anti-Calvinistic tradition from which the main tendencies in American religion have been derived.

Consequently, by 1920 it was possible for Roger W. Babson to declare:

"We should point with pride to the fact that most of the church people are prosperous and that most of the poor people are outside the church. We should be much more ashamed if the church were made up of the poor people and the prosperous people were outside of the church. Then we truly would have something to fear. Then we should be ashamed to ask others to join us or become interested in religion."

"Under a free competitive system the acres naturally go to the men who are able to get the most out of them; the industries naturally come under the control of the men who are able to most efficiently operate them; and wealth naturally gravitates to those people who use it for the good of the community rather than to those who use it only to satisfy their own selfish and sensual desires."

In this manner big business was able to get control of almost every religious institution in the country. Whereas in the old days the evangelical sects had succeeded in maintaining certain of their more ascetic and republican ideals and sentiments, in the new era that was no longer possible. Christianity, henceforth, was to voice the interests of big business.

As the industrialization of the country sped ahead in the post-Civil War era, the working class,

out of whose labors the new America was being built, became more and more restive. The labor movement began to develop into a national force. The creation of the Knights of Labor in 1869 marked the beginning of the realization that the struggle between capital and labor was a nation-wide issue. From the point of view of the capitalists, who were the owners of industry and finance, there was only one thing to do, and that was fight labor on the economic front. Labor was fought there by the lockout, the open shop, the use of scabs, the employment of injunctions, the resort to police and militia and, upon critical occasions, the use of the National Guard. But despite such concerted opposition the labor movement continued to grow. By the 1880's it had developed radical characteristics and become a dangerous menace to the hegemony of capital. It was obvious to the ruling class by that time that the fight had to be carried to other fronts. Religion was one of the fronts which was immediately utilized for the extension of that fight.

By virtue of their control over the financial destiny of the churches and their ministers, the representatives of big business succeeded in making American Christianity defend their interests in the struggle between capital and labor. Christianity took this stand, as Charles Stelzle pointed out, "because it did not dare to oppose the men or the government which gave it support."

This subtle marriage between big business and religion resulted in converting Christianity into an apologist for capitalism. It soon came to favor the open shop, justify child labor, oppose strikes, and rebuke strikers. It managed to do this not so much by taking a definite stand in the struggle as by declaring its lack of connection with it. It attempted to take an above-the-battle stand, and assume a position of neutrality. Since the power of capital was so much greater than that of labor, the church's affected neutrality only helped to assure the defeat of the latter. Its position was very much like that of a Pharisee who, out of a formal respect for the rights of both parties, refuses to interfere in a life-and-death struggle between a lion and a lamb. Whenever specific situations arose where it was necessary to take a stand, however, the Church forsook its spiritual neutrality and defended the vested interests against those of labor. As Josiah Strong states, he "knows personally of a committee of labor men who tried to secure the passage of a law limiting child labor, and in a great city not one clergyman could be found to give them more than casual help"; while, "in another city, some years ago, not one clergyman could be found to aid the bakers agitate for a law giving them Sunday rest." As in the case of the English bishops who, in the House of Lords, voted against the Workingmen's Compens-

sation Act, American ministers frequently condemned strikers but very seldom attacked employers for perpetuating conditions which made strikes inevitable. Keir Hardie's reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had declared that he worked seventeen hours a day and had no time remaining to solve the unemployment problems—"a religion which demands 17 hours for organization and leaves no time for thought about starving men, women, and children, has no message for this age"—had few echoes in this country where Christianity had become so completely middle-class that no minister dared articulate his opposition to the "Princes of Privilege".

In the past it was possible for the clergymen in the churches, which were independent organizations existing in their own right, to preach what they pleased, and even advocate, as did such communal sects as the Anabaptists and Diggers, a complete change in the economic organization of society. Once the wealthy industrialists and financiers became deacons and trustees of the churches that independence and freedom vanished. Like Wilberforce in the 19th century, who contended that the main purpose of religion was to instruct the poor in the belief "that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties, and contentedly to bear its inconveniences," this new type of minister preaches the same doctrine of submission, but in a more subtle and sophisticated form. Instead of stressing submission as a philosophy, which with an aggressive labor movement confronting them is impracticable, they endeavor to subdue and suppress proletarian militancy which they condemn as anti-Christian. In this way they aim to achieve what Wilberforce, releasing the cat from the bag, described as the "blessed effects of Christianity on the temporal well-being of political communities."

One way of combating such militancy, which threatens to disturb the relationships between the rich and the poor, is to reiterate the arguments of the Reverend Robert Flint, who contended that "the great bulk of human misery is due, not to social arrangements, but to personal vices," or those of the Reverend Sandy that "where God has been so patient, it is not for us to be impatient." A more subtle way is to work with the labor movement itself in an attempt to convince its leaders that the labor problem is not an economic problem, but a religious one. "The churches had better use their influence in helping labor organize under religious leaders," Roger W. Babson advised, and added that "the church should not want to dam the stream of progress; but the church should direct the flow of the stream. . . . The Labor problem is really a ques-

tion of religion rather than of economics. . . . The church should . . . insist that the leaders both of the employers and the wage workers should be religious men and that the principle of the 'open shop' shall be kept as the goal."

Not only was Jesus Christ made an opponent of socialism and an advocate of the "open shop," but in the words of the Reverend Lyman Abbott he was converted into a direct exponent of big business:

"My radical friend declares that the teachings of Jesus are not practicable, that we cannot carry them out in life, and that we do not pretend to do so. Jesus, he reminds us, said, 'Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth'; and Christians do universally lay up for themselves treasures upon earth; every man that owns a house and lot or a share of stock in a corporation, or a life insurance policy, or money in a savings bank, has laid up for himself treasure upon earth. But Jesus did not say, 'Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth.' He said: 'Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves might break in and steal.' And no sensible American does. Moth and rust do not get at Mr. Rockefeller's oil wells, nor at the Sugar Trust's sugar, and thieves do not often break through and steal a railway or an insurance company or a savings bank. What Jesus condemned was hoarding wealth." The last step was left for Bruce Barton, who in his book "The Man Nobody Knows," made Jesus into the high-pressure salesman of his day, an Ivy L. Lee of the ancient world who succeeded in selling a religious form of Tono-Bungay to Western civilization. "The ad-man's religion is today the prevailing American religion," James Rorty notes suggestively in his book, "The Master's Voice," and adds that "the true heretic must therefore concentrate upon this modern aspect of priestcraft".

Of course, there have been other developments in the ecclesiastical world which have pursued different paths. One of the most interesting is that represented by Nicholas Berdyaev. "I dedicate this book to the memory of Karl Marx who was the social master of my youth and whose opponent in ideas I have become." Such is the dedication which Nicholas Berdyaev has written for his book "Christianity and the Class War". Like Mussolini, Berdyaev has not only deserted Marxism but has become its bitter enemy. Nevertheless, like all quondam Marxists, Berdyaev has profited by his early Marxian training and has carried over into his contemporary work a great deal of the Marxian wisdom which he had sworn by in youth. As a result "Christianity and the Class War" combines both the virtue and the vice of translating Marxian conceptions into anti-Marxian forms. Following in the path of Mussolini and Hitler, both of whom exploited Marxian slogans in

order to create a Fascist state, Berdyaev distorts certain Marxian truths to produce a most modern and dangerous conception of Christianity.

What is it that Berdyaev aims to do that should make us pause? In a word, he wants to make Christianity admit the reality of the class war and take its stand on the side of the workers. At first glance this aim seems to be a most salutary one. Closer examination of Berdyaev's proposition, however, reveals the danger latent in it.

Ever since the defeat of the Anabaptists under the leadership of Munzer in the sixteenth century and the rise and fall of the Diggers movement in the seventeenth, both of which marked a return to the communal tenets of primitive Christianity, the Christian Church, Catholic as well as Protestant, has adopted and defended a middle-class philosophy of life. Whatever movements of revolt have spread among Protestant sects since that time have adhered with uncritical zeal to the middle-class credo. Even Methodism, which exercised, and still does exercise, such far-sweeping influence over the masses, provided no exception to that tendency. "We must exhort all Christians to gain all they can, and save all they can; that is in effect to grow rich, and (then) to give all they can (so that) they will grow in grace," wrote John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, in justification of the middle-class way of life. Because of this adherence to middle-class economics, Christianity was unable to prevent a large percentage of the masses from joining labor movements and radical parties which favored the interests of the working class and opposed those of the middle class. Had Christianity in the last two hundred years developed a revolutionary proletarian movement within its ranks, it undoubtedly would have absorbed and held within its own organization a considerable degree of social energy which was shunted off into the labor movement. Thus, in identifying its interests with those of the middle class, modern Christianity not only assisted the advance of the labor movement but also unwittingly helped release a considerable section of the masses from the fetters of religion.

Now what Berdyaev wants to do is to restore Christianity to the masses and at the same time draw the masses away from Marxism. Shrewd enough to realize that Marxism has advanced at the expense of religion, which Marx himself called "the opium of the people," Berdyaev seeks the advance of Christianity at the expense of Marxism. Attacking Marxism from a mystical point of view, he is more concerned with revealing its ultimate fallacy in terms of religion, than in assailing its weaknesses in terms of logic. "In the ultimate analysis, Marxism is a lie," writes Berdyaev, "because there is an omnipotent power which is the fount of all power,

God." One cannot account for the culture of a people as a product of material conditions or mode of production, Berdyaev argues, but a result of forces which are essentially psychical and spiritual. Those forces, he contends, emanate not only from God, but from the God of Christianity.

Realizing that the capitalist world is doomed and that the bourgeoisie as a class will go down with its collapse, Berdyaev is keen enough to see that the future power in society lies with the proletariat. Consequently he exhorts Christianity in no uncertain words to take heed of the future lest it go down in the debacle that is bound to follow. "The task before us now," he declares, "is to spiritualize and ennoble, not the bourgeoisie whose moral importance is irretrievably lost, but the working class, whose social significance and power are daily increasing and will be of yet greater weight in the future."

But what Berdyaev wants is not a working class led by "godless" revolutionaries but one led by "god-fearing" priests and prophets. "The Christian Church must at this time be especially solicitous for the workers," he warns, "because, having conquered in the social order, they are now threatened spiritually by the greatest dangers and are being

infected by the deadly poison of godlessness." In short, Berdyaev would like to turn the revolution over to the Church, or rather to what he calls "The true Church of Christ," which will teach "the workers that the bourgeois and the gentleman also are human beings, that they must be treated accordingly, and their dignity and worth respected." We must teach the workers, he adds, that "if we rise above the class hatred that torments the world we thereby rise spiritually and morally above the classes themselves and the spirit that informs them."

While the Christian churches as they are now constituted are too closely wedded to the capitalist system to be able to heed or respond to his words, it is not impossible that a new section of the church might arise which would adopt the stand he propose. A potential Fascist dictator, for instance, might find it an excellent means of winning the support of the masses.

In contradiction to Berdyaev's position stand Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Dr. Harry Ward. Both Niebuhr and Ward believe that Marxism is a good instead of an evil, and they have been dedicating their energy in Marxist directions because they believe that religion can survive only in a socialist state.

British Trade Unions and the C.I.O.

ALAN PATERSON

CANADIAN and American radicals are apt to look enviously at the achievements of the British Labour Party and of the Trade Unions who form its backbone. And those achievements have produced a certain complacency in the British movement itself. The great drive of the C.I.O. in the United States for unionization has drawn from English commentators the patronising comment that Lewis is, after all, only struggling to attain what has in England long been an accepted state of affairs. This attitude might have been justified twelve years ago but today it is out of place. The British Labour movement has displayed a remarkable incapacity in the political field during the last few years and all observers comment upon its seeming futility. On the industrial front the Trade Unions have been in retreat. The decline is due not merely to the failure of the General Strike of 1926 or to the present reactionary leadership. Something more important lies behind.

Out of 13½ million persons in Great Britain classified as employed, excluding Civil Servants, less than four million are members of Unions affiliated

with the Trades Union Congress. This compares with a membership of eight million in the post-war boom years and of over five million in 1925. Thus the major part of British industry is not unionized. Trade Union strength was built up and is still concentrated in the older basic industries. In spite of prolonged depression the railways, the coal-mining, ship-building and cotton industries are still well organized, but these basic industries as a whole are relatively declining in importance and numbers. British Trade Unions represent a part only of the working class, and a part which is slowly shrinking with new developments in industry. The rising motor industry, still largely unorganized, has nothing to compare with the U.A.W.A. As yet the motor magnates have not even found it necessary to organize company unions. In the food, drink and tobacco trades only five per cent. are organized in craft or industrial unions. The bulk of new industries particularly those growing up around London, are not organized at all.

In 1919 it seemed that the long battle for rights of collective bargaining in industry had been won,

but the steady drift of labour from the depressed North to the prosperous areas of the South has weakened Trade Union solidarity, and employers in the newer industries tend to open and run their factories on a strictly non-union basis. Of recent years Trade Union rights even in the basic industries have been attacked. An outstanding instance is the recent Harworth colliery dispute where the colliery owners refused to recognize the Notts Miners' Association as against the local company Union although an overwhelming majority of the miners employed in the colliery voted in favour of their own Union. Only on the eve of a general stoppage in the coal industry was a compromise reached.

The policy of Sir Walter Citrine and other leaders of the Trades Union Congress, based on the assumption that capitalism is not going to disintegrate or be overthrown for many years, is one of respectful collaboration with the government in the hope that if they behave themselves they will be thrown an occasional tit-bit. Except in a few coal mines the sit-down strike has not been tried, and if John Lewis were imported to Britain his militant tactics would shock Citrine even more than they did Green. Nevertheless there is growing industrial unrest amongst the masses, accentuated by rising prices. Where strikes do occur they are seldom called under direct Trade Union auspices, but by branches whose activities are suspect to their own head offices or as spontaneous outbreaks usually attributed to "communist influence". During the London bus strike the leaders of the Transport and General Worker's Union refused to call out the other London transport workers in support of the busmen, and eventually settled the strike and ordered the men back to work against the wishes of the busmen's committee.

These facts make a startling contrast to the enormous spread of Trade Unionism in the United States. There is a definite danger of British Trade Unionism lapsing into what American Trade Unionism has been for a long time past—a movement restricted to a narrow range of industries, and even in these industries concerned chiefly with the wages and conditions of a minority consisting of the more skilled grades of workers. If the British Trade Unions are to play their part in the struggle for socialism and against fascism they will have to modernize their technique and inaugurate a great drive amongst the new expanding industries. Traditional methods, whereby enrolment of members is a matter for individual Unions, and not for the movement as a whole, are today inadequate because in most of the expanding trades there are either no Unions concerned or at any rate none nearly strong enough for the task.

G. D. H. Cole prophesies that if the British Trade Unions fail to establish their ascendancy in the developing trades, one of two things is bound to happen. The first is what has actually occurred in the United States. The Trade Union movement will split in half, and those Unions which believe in trying new methods will go their own way. Or, if no such pioneers are forthcoming, Trade Unions will cease to stand for the general interests of the working class and will shrink up into a sectional agency for the protection of a limited number of special, and for the most part decaying craft monopolies. What British Labour needs most just now is a movement with the energy and aggressiveness of the American C.I.O.

"A Rose by Any Other Name . . ."

"It is extremely probable that during the depression, taxpayers were inclined to be unduly pessimistic when making their returns."—Wladimir Woytinsky, discussing French statistics in "The Social Consequences of the Economic Depression"; p. 100.)

(Tune: The Wearing of the Green)

When a millionaire does not declare the whole of what he earns
Some call it tax evasion, and their wrath against him burns.

But a kindlier phrase the man himself from Prof. Woytinsky learns,
It's "unduly pessimistic when making his returns."

The plutocrat is weary. For greater ease he yearns.
Hence you find him pessimistic when making his returns.

He would not defraud the government. Deception low he spurns.

But he can be pessimistic when making his returns.

There are times when he in foreign climes a better chance discerns

Of being pessimistic when making his returns.

So don't be hard upon him if in Nassau he sojourns
Where he's safely pessimistic when making his returns.

In Canada the habit sometimes spreads to large concerns;
They too get pessimistic when making their returns.

With concealed reserves the textile magnate all his woes adjourns

That's how he is pessimistic when making his returns.

Then let's drink to great Woytinsky, let us crown his brow with ferns,

Nor to him be pessimistic when making these returns.

Contemporary Canadian Artists

By G. CAMPBELL McINNES

No. 8—Pegi Nicol

TO ANALYSE one of Pegi Nicol's paintings is to go a long way toward understanding a point of view which was obscured by the academic naturalists and the misuse of the camera. It is that artists do not represent or portray; they interpret and create. And this viewpoint—always to the fore where fine artists are concerned—is today being forced even on the mediocre, through the technical perfection of the color camera. Of what use faithfully to reproduce nature, when the machine can do it so much better? The artist's task, taking his subject matter as the initial inspiration perhaps, is to abstract, to synthesise, to emphasise and understate, to re-form and fuse in the fire of his creative imagination, under the stress of powerful feeling, the original impact of the external world.

Sometimes—and this painting reproduced here, "A descent of lilies", is a case in point—he abstracts and re-creates not only from the external world, but also from the imaginative world as well. But the difference between Miss Nicol's painting and that of, say, the Surrealist, Salvador Dali, is this: Dali obtains his effects by bringing together, in a telling design, objects from the external world which are not normally so seen; Miss Nicol obtains hers by bringing together those imaginatively conceived. Dali's work is micro-photographically exact, and painted, in naturalistic colors, with the hard precision of a miniature; Miss Nicol's painting is integrated through the decorative arrangement of shapes, and color relationships, which, though arbitrary as far as "nature" is concerned, are extraordinarily close knit in relation to tone, atmosphere and composition.

That, however, is really by the way. For this painting does not depend for its effect on our perceiving that it is an arrangement of hands, lilies, horses and figures. Rather, what we feel is a conception of extreme delicacy and sensitiveness—somewhat incoherent perhaps, a little wayward and undisciplined—but making a superb decorative pattern, rhythmically and asymmetrically arranged in accordance with the dictates of a delightful phantasy. Nor, despite traces of formlessness, is strength wanting. The forceful diagonal which cuts the canvas in two has its counterpart in the sudden twist of the torso. But Miss Nicol's chief asset is her very unusual and very personal color sense—which here can not be done justice. It is extremely subtle and lovely; at the same time it is arresting and dramatic. She makes no attempt to create plastic

form by modelling, or to do more than suggest lines; but in using color she creates, at times, a form which is in its own way equally satisfactory. Her paintings, whether of people on the street, still lifes, figure work, or semi-phantasies such as this, come to life, as it were, in an atmospheric envelope of color, which suggests form, depth, line and the inter-relation of planes. Let me try to explain this by one example.

The eye, starting at the centre of interest—the left shoulder of the big nude, toward which what suggested lines there are trend—moves downward and to the left, from the shoulder to the garment, thence to the floating lily, thence by a slight curve to the garment on the nude in the background, and then straight into the canvas till it is lost in the far clouds. Your eye has travelled but a short way over the canvas surface, yet, when, having reached the far clouds, it is released, you feel that you have covered a great distance, and penetrated a great depth. All this is done by color. Color, and the relationship of color to color is what makes up the component parts of the painting, and welds those parts into a whole.

Pegi Nicol was born in Listowel, Ont. (the home—be it noted—of Horatio Walker) and has since lived in Ottawa and Toronto. She has been closely identified with the theatre—in Ottawa as an actor and dramatist, in Toronto as stage designer—and has also done much display work for the T. Eaton Company, under the direction of M. René Cera. In 1928, she journeyed to the Skeena River, in B.C., with Dr. Marius Barbeau, to paint the West Coast Indians and their customs; in 1929, she won the Willingdon Prize for a painting, "The Log Run," now in a private collection at Ottawa. She was, of course, well known for a number of years to readers of the Canadian Forum as Art Editor.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. H. Harris is a member of the Newspaper Guild in Canada.

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A Descent of Lilies

Pegi Nicol

The Plight of the Blind in B.C.

DOROTHY NESBITT

THE RECENT Pension Amendment granting \$20.00 to blind persons over forty years of age has focused a certain amount of attention on the economic problems of the blind. A step in the right direction has been taken in so far as the subject of blindness has been submitted to consideration; but it is only a step. It leaves out off all consideration blind persons under the age of forty and it does not free those over forty from the mesh of pauperism. In fact, in its present form the Act tends to relieve the Relief Agencies rather than the individual blind.

It is obvious that a blind person is very much handicapped when seeking employment. The blind in British Columbia put up a desperate struggle to get the Provincial Government to recognize the fact that there was a blind problem, and it was only after tremendous effort on the part of many of these persons and their friends that they were able to bring sufficient pressure to result in the Provincial Government coming through with a grant to aid adult blind industry.

A particular reason for such aid was the existence of a class of persons blinded in industry between the year of 1914 and the passing of the Compensation Act in 1917. There had been great "speeding up" in mines and factories on account of the war and it was felt that those blinded as the result of war work were as worthy of consideration as those blinded in the trenches.

All attempts to make the Compensation Act retroactive had dismally failed.

The Canadian National Institute FOR the Blind, an organization with headquarters at Toronto, was at that particular time establishing itself throughout the Dominion in competition with existing organizations OF the Blind. The B.C. Government was somewhat wary of handing the grant into the keeping of this National Institute because it would be handing public funds to an Eastern corporation and one whose record was unfavorably known to many blind persons. But the Institute came to the Province on padded feet. It called a meeting of the Western Association of the Blind and purred to them about what had been done in other provinces in the way of establishing workshops and how delighted they would be to have the permission of the Western Association to start a Broom Shop in Vancouver.

Some of the leading men in the Association fell victims to this propaganda and one of them went east to learn the broom making business. After

about two years, the Broom Shop, which was never a success either from the point of a living wage for the workers or from that of running a profitable business, was closed. In the opinion of many, this closing was arranged at a psychological moment to create agitation for a Government Grant to the Institute. The Government, though suspicious of this private corporation, could still see nothing better than to re-open a subsidized Broom Shop but they attached the following conditions to their grant:

(1) The grant was not to be used for blinded ex-soldiers as these were a Federal responsibility.

(2) The wages were to be looked upon as a form of compensation for those blinded in industry before the passing of the Compensation Act. These wages were the Rights of the Workers and they had government protection against any encroachment on the grant.

The Institute was not satisfied with these restrictions and was always clamoring to get the grant unconditionally. When the Tolmie Government came into power it turned the Grant over unconditionally to the Institute. Meanwhile the B.C. blind had made enquiries and had become wise to the record of the Institute in the East and the thought that it might attain the same power in B.C. was like a dark cloud on their mental horizon.

And the cloud soon overcast their entire sky. For when a building was erected by public subscription, the Institute came into power. Drove of officials came into B.C. They included some blinded soldiers with military pensions in addition to their Institute salaries but were mostly sighted persons, and the B.C. blind lost the last vestige of their rights with the appointment of a blind returned soldier as Superintendent. Since then those who have dared to challenge the rights of the Institute were subject to dismissal and many have been thus dismissed. Short sighted workers from other provinces are preferred to B.C. blind because the latter know that they have fought for and won certain rights while the former know themselves to be in the Province on sufferance and so comport themselves with becoming meekness and readily join the "Company Union". Blind men should have the right and freedom to live in any part of the Dominion. The only objection to men from other provinces in the Broom Shop is that the Institute takes advantage of the circumstances to rob B.C. workers of their promised employment. There has

been much short time and half time during the Depression.

The subsidy principle has always been opposed by manufacturers in ordinary Broom Shops. For the brooms were subsidized, not the men. The blind workers receive no higher rate of pay than their competitors. Each is supposed to produce and does produce a minimum of \$12.00 worth of brooms per week. The Institute has found the Depression a source of income, for where a man, perhaps married and with a family to support, has to go on relief he may be making \$48.00 a month for the Institute but receiving therefrom only \$15.00 for his work and \$10.00 "guide money". He will receive a cheque from the City of Vancouver for \$21.00. Thus the ratepayers are subsidizing the Broom Shop, while funds given by the Provincial Government have been used for official salaries.

Since the Depression it has been almost impossible for a totally blind person to obtain work at the Broom Shop. The chances of a partially blind person are in inverse ratio to his blindness. Men who have never described themselves as blind, having been found ineligible for Relief Camp because of short-sightedness or other eye trouble, have been sent to the Broom Shop, thereby displacing blind workers. Of late years deaf men have been accepted with the same result.

Remember that the City gives a grant to the Institute. The public subscribes generously for blind welfare in B.C. so that if the overhead were reduced many would be helped. The Superintendent receives \$300.00 plus \$60.00 guide money. He is provided with the help of two paid secretaries and he is in receipt of a military pension of \$175.00 monthly. A foreman gets \$135.00 monthly. A sales-manager gets \$170.00 with possibly commissions. These two are among the many sighted salaried workers. A graduate from a blind school whose sight has so far improved that he is able to drive his own car gets \$200.00 monthly and travelling expenses. And so on ad infinitum!

"Efficiency Experts" have visited the Broom Shop and effected all sorts of "speeding-up" and economies in order that more brooms should be turned out. Was it for the sake of more brooms that the kindly public paid over their hard-earned dimes and quarters? Was it for more brooms that so many blind people and their sympathizers worked to obtain a grant?

The Board of Directors of the National Institute for the Blind are neither appointed nor elected but selected. This is a system which is entirely contrary to the principles of British democracy. A blind worker cannot be eligible for membership on this Board for there is a ruling that no one can sit on it while receiving benefits. Working for

a low wage in a broom factory is considered to be receiving benefits!

Advertisements and appeals for funds with pictures of a blind man begging have deeply hurt certain blind people who know how hardly their wages have been earned. Would you blame such people for their sensitiveness? Let us think of blind people as individuals. If your son, your brother, your friend, were forced to work in the dark would he not and should he not be equally sensitive?

"We can avoid bitterness on the subject of our blindness," said one worker, "but it is the economic pressure that is always with us that fills us with a sense of injustice."

"We would like to have work to do that is of social significance," said another, "for that would be real independence."

That many blind people are capable of work of social significance is demonstrated by the good work accomplished by blind people for each other. Such a concession as the street car passes was not obtained by or through the Institute but through a small group of blind persons. The Institute was quick to take credit however. It meant another title on their letterhead and perhaps the creation of another official.

Those now working in the Broom Shop, including deaf, partially blind and sighted workers, are right now reaping the benefit of activities carried on by blind "agitators" who were penalized by dismissal. Their campaign resulted in the cleaning up of the once insanitary workshop and the installation of fans to carry away the dust that had ruined the health of several workers.

The men who fought for the health of fellow workers at the risk of their own livelihood were dismissed and forced to depend on relief, and cases are known of blind men living for several years on \$10.00 a month or about ONE-FIFTIETH of the income enjoyed by the Superintendent. Such a man was described by this official as "a detriment to the interests of the Institute" and no guide money or other amenity was considered necessary to brighten the life of this victim of industrial "speed-up".

As one blind worker expressed it: "We have been handed over to the Institute which has absolute power over us. Our liberties, our independence have been crushed by the greed of the officials."

Should not the government shoulder the responsibility for blind citizens and should not their case rest on justice, rather than on caprice?

Should not money granted for the civilian blind of B.C. be used for the civilian blind of B.C.?

Should not the desires of blind people be consulted and acted upon in a democratic manner?

Should not blind workers be occupied rather than driven?

Should not workshops for the blind be places where the health of the workers is considered and should they not be social centres rather than "sweat-shops"? Would not such arrangements be in accord with the wishes of those who have made pecuniary and other sacrifices for blind welfare?

Should not pensions be compensatory (as ex-soldiers' pensions are compensatory), instead of pauper-tainted?

Should not the ambitions and desires for useful work be encouraged by bonus rather than discouraged by an income limit?

We leave our readers to answer these questions for themselves.

Sea Piece

GUY MASON

THE REEF was in turmoil. Jade-green waters and white, swirling foam and the shiny, brown tentacles of sea-weed made a pastiche of querulous, frightening beauty. The boat, little more than a slightly-built skiff, was being cruelly lashed about by the passionate violence of the waves. It was bottom up and its bow was pierced and held by a jagged rock that projected from the seething maelstrom like a fierce, blackened tusk from gaping, frothing jaws.

The boy, possibly nineteen or twenty, who clung with the fierceness of desperation to the bottom of the upturned boat, heard only the hideous, sickening roar of wind and sea, and saw nothing, for his eyes were already blinded by the salt spray. He could scarcely feel any longer the incessant, irregular movements of the boat beneath him as it twisted and jerked and tossed and plunged with every breath of the imperious sea. He was so cold and wet that each succeeding wave that broke over him and drenched him anew might have been spared its ferocious effort. His benumbed and bleeding fingers held on through force of habit and sheer inability to let go. He lay, face downward, spread-eagled, a victim about to be sacrificed to a savage god, and there was no fire left in heaven.

Time to get up! Time to get up! Why don't they let me sleep? Old people who can't sleep are merciless to youth. Time to get up! Nearly six o'clock! I'll lie a little longer just for spite, to show them that I won't be bullied. They make me sick! Time to get up! Time to lie down! Time to eat! A time to do this and a time to do that! Time for the sun to rise! Time for the sun to set! Time for the moon and stars! Time for the snow and the rain! Time for the tide to rise! Time for the tide to fall! Time to make hay! Is it time to go walking with my girl? Is it time to dance and time to play? Is it time to live? Is it time to love? Time— time—

Entangled in the kelp, now half out of the water, now wholly submerged, the body of a man in yellow oilskins bobbed up and down, was swept hither

and yon. His head, kept partly afloat by the oilskin sou'wester securely strapped under his chin, made gay and debonair curtsies to the elements. It was the boy's father hurled overboard in the first crash and unable to reach the precarious security of the boat. The boy had long since forgotten the presence of his silent companion.

Time to get up! Time to dress! Time to eat! Time to row those long miles in the blistering wind. Time to go from reef to reef, from shore to shore, from cove to cove, rowing until your back ached, your hands grew numb, your limbs grew stiff. Time to catch hold of the painted buoys with a long-handled gaff. Time to pull on the long, cold ropes that froze to your hands. Time to draw in the heavy lobster pots. Calm sea. Rough sea. Rain. Sleet. Snow. Wind. One lobster. Two lobsters. Three lobsters. A hundred lobsters. Time to row back. Time. Time for some slick city guy and his girl to go to a night club or all-night restaurant. Boston. Halifax. New York. Montreal. Time to have boiled lobster, grilled lobster, fried lobster. Lobsters. Red lobsters, black lobsters, pale blond lobsters. Life-blood. Lobsters. Five cents a piece. A dollar-and-a-half a piece. Time— time—

Drifting ceaselessly about, as if uncertain and careless of their ultimate destiny, buoys with ropes attached, oars, gaffs, lobster pots, lunch pails, tea-bottle, a water jug, littered the water in the vicinity of the boat. The constant pounding of the waves had broken long slivers from the thwarts and gunwales, and these mingled in the mad dance. The sail, unshipped and partly tied up at the moment of disaster, trailed on the water like a flag that has been struck and is ashamed. A sea-gull, hungry after a long and fruitless hunt, soared for a second and dashed waterwards only to rise again with a thwarted cry. A flock of Mother Carey's chickens, blown by the wind, flapped frantic, tired wings against the boat, against the boy's tense body, tried to get a foothold, failed, and were carried on. The boy coughed, a long wracking cough, and the white froth that covered his lips was tinged

with red. He moved his head sideways and tried to wipe his lips on his oilskin sleeve, but the effort was useless.

Time! Youth is the time to live. I'm going to rebel. I should have done it before. I have fought against it, but not hard enough. I'll go away. This is a hell of a life for a young fellow like me. Up before daybreak. Miles to row, miles to go. For what? A bite to eat, a bit to wear. Weariness. Dog-tiredness. That somebody may eat lobster. Sambro to Sable. Sambro to Canso. All getting lobsters, to make pot-bellies pottier, to make haughty ladies haughtier. Like those summer people who came last summer. What, no lobsters? No, madam, we fish here only in the winter months. You'll have to go to Halifax or Hell for your lobsters now. Better go to Hell, they will be better cooked. What a stare she gave me! Are lobsters red like that when you catch them? No, lady, they're white, and we dye them. Better sales, you know. Next year we're going to try blue ones. No more of this work for me! I'll stop today. Youth is the time for life. Youth is the time for love. Time—— time——

The wind became stronger and colder. The grey-white fog spiralled and spun, grew thin and tenuous, flattened and bellied, grew thick and opaque, grew light and opalescent, grew heavy and tenebrous, formed valleys and caverns and ridges. Above the boat, which broke the blind and secret rhythm of its changing, slight wisps hung, like smoke from dying sacrificial fires. The boy tried to change the position of his stiffening body. He over-balanced and slipped sideways. With a supreme effort, he regained his old position and lay there tense and moaning.

Youth is the time to live and love. Summer. A green hillside. Sunlight and shadow. Flowers. Long, lovely evenings. Birds' songs. Autumn. A woodpath with fallen leaves rustling underfoot. Nuts to gather. Winter. The jingle of sleighbells. The white snow drifting softly around. Warmth of body. The cold, biting wind making the cheeks tingle. The pressure of a soft, warm body against mine. Springtime. Lovetime. Flowers in the meadow. Violets white and blue. Golden buttercups on their slender stalks. Dandelions. Green grass, bitter to taste. Springtime. Lovetime. Time to live. Time to love. Time—— time——

The scattered debris began to work steadily to leeward. The body of the boy's father reached deeper water and appeared less frequently on the surface. Finally it slipped over the edge of the reef and disappeared from view. The fog began to lift and drift away. A pale, turbid sun peered listlessly through. The fog-curtain moved seaward. The debris gradually drifted away, disappeared. A

foghorn blew faintly in the distance. The boat danced a mad macabre dance, and the boy still clung to it.

Youth is the time for life and love. Puppy love they called it. Let them talk. When Spring comes again—it will be coming soon—we'll get married. Let the others say what they will. Puppy love! They don't know! It won't be long now. But before that time, we'll go to town quietly. No one will know until afterward. Let them talk then! Puppy love! Bah! What a fine girl she is! How young and lovely! What a life we'll make for ourselves and our children, away from the cursed sea that I've always hated! The hatred is in my blood. Mother always hated it. I've always hated it. And been afraid of it. My children won't know it. They will live away from it, far away from it. None of this work for them! Childhood should be happy. Youth should be happy. Youth is the time for life, for love. Life! Love! Time—— time——

A thin film of ice began to form on parts of the boat and on the boy's clothing. His hair became grayed with the drying salt, and his bare hands lost their ruddiness and took on the pallor of age. His face was gray and the muscles no longer twitched. Red drops from his bruised and torn fingers ran down the white-painted boards and mingled with the waters of the green ocean and lost their redness. Ashes to ashes. Dust to dust. Water to water.

Youth. Life. Love. Not the kind you read about in books, but the real thing. Perhaps it would have been better to have waited. Life grows old. Love grows cold. The fire in the head and the fire in the heart grow cold. The blood grows cold. Youth is the time for life and love. We only live once. We're only young once. Yet the oldsters talk. Let them weep. Let them gnash their teeth. Hell! We got married, didn't we? Why all the bother? It's nobody's business now but ours. What shall we call him? What shall we call her? Cute little tyke, I bet. Young? I'm nearly twenty. Youth is the time to love. It's spring again. Green grass. Flowers. Spring. Time—— time——

The fog curtain moved seaward. A hundred yards to windward land loomed, dark and sombre at first, then lighter and lighter as the sun grew more vigorous. Then a burst of brilliant sunlight came, revealing a bold headland covered with dwarf spruce, snow mottled. A few sheep, hungry for salt, nibbled at the broken tendrils of kelp on the rocky shore. Not far away, a motor boat chugged, trying to drive its way between the headland and the reef. The boy's grasp on the icy boards slackened. The upper part of his body moved slowly sideways. One more heavy wave, and he slipped quietly into the sea and sank from sight.

A. M. KLEIN

Coelvm, negata temptat iter via

(Behold my brother, sans both legs
A military loss

However, now he ambulates
On a Victoria Cross.)

P.S.

If you desire English text, then go
To Rupert Brooke whose bugles always blow;
Or Mr. Tennyson
Who will tell any son
Of battle's benison!

P.P.S.

Appendix for the Pious—Isaiah, chapter sixty-seven.

And it shall come to pass that the king's high
counsellor, desiring honourable mention in a foot-
note of the chronicles, shall stand up upon a balcony
and he shall shout: They hold me in derision.
The alien three oceans beyond us holds me in
derision.

Wherefore you shall be amazed, you shall stand
confused, you shall not know when or how. It shall
be a thing you have not heard.

But the emissaries of the whetted tongue shall go
forth to the market-places, and shall stand them up
upon a chariot, and shall pound upon their chests,
groaning; Honour, honour.

Until you too shall rise, shaking your fists, and
crying with a loud voice: We shall not be held in
derision.

You shall journey long distances to lands in a
picture-book.

Your farewells shall be full of glory; paid speakers
will laud you.

The manufactories of bunting shall do much trade;
the writers of martial musick shall win them
renown.

The speeches shall be uttered, the bugles shall be
blown, and the kisses wafted

And you shall go the long way over many seas.

This also I know, that the high-counsellor and his
brother the swordsmith will rub their hands, warm
at the prospect of seven fat years

And will hasten to their secret chambers, there to
calculate calculations.

And you shall journey great distances to lands in a
picture-book,

And shall discover yourselves in the midst of a
strange people, who have not ever lifted a little
finger against you, or said a short word ill of you
And you shall array yourselves, each against the
other

And the voice of the captain shall thunder, and
it shall rain brimstone.

For many days you shall rest in the watery pit
Until your feet shall be swollen, and you shall

remember with great longing a pair of slippers and
a chair.

Vermin shall crawl about you, the louse shall move
in on you

And you shall curse your fingers because they are
few.

Worse than the great noise of the instruments of
war shall be the terrible silence

When you shall bethink yourself of kith and kin,
and of the king's counsellor

Causing himself to be regarded full-face and in
profile.

The generals shall be bathed in lotions, the captains
shall be perfumed with myrrh

And you, son of man, shall own mud as your breast-
plate, and mire as your armour.

The battle shall rage, and men with strange devices
shall signal to one another

Signals of victory, honour, and inches of land.

Until both you and the alien shall be weary, and the
counsellors weary of profit.

Peace shall be heard in the land, but who shall
hear it? Truce shall be called in the land, who shall
hearken unto it?

For your brothers shall lie in foreign fields, where
the crow may bring them the tiding, and the worm
whisper the news.

POETRY CONTEST

The Canadian Forum offers a prize of \$10.00
and a second prize of \$5.00 for the best and
the next best poem, submitted in the poetry
contest.

Rules:

1. There are no restrictions on the poetic form
eligible except that a minimum of fourteen
lines and a maximum of one hundred lines
has been set.
2. Manuscripts must be typed (double spaced)
on one side only of the paper. The author's
name must not appear on the manuscript,
but must be enclosed in a sealed envelope
bearing on the outside the title of the story
only. Return postage must be enclosed.
3. Poems must reach "Poetry Contest Editor,
The Canadian Forum, 28 Wellington Street
West, Toronto, Canada", on or before Sept.
15th, 1937.
4. The Editor may publish in The Canadian
Forum any poem submitted, without remun-
eration. Those considered unsuitable for
this purpose will be returned within one
month of the date on which the award is
announced.
5. Members of the Editorial Board and Staff
of The Canadian Forum will not be eligible
for this contest.

Judges: E. J. Pratt, F. R. Scott, Earle Birney

Facts, Figures and Finance

Business Conditions

PHYSICAL volume of business in June was 100.1 (1929-100) (last year 88.5), industrial production 102.3 (88.9), manufacturing 106.1 (94.6), mineral production 163.1 (130.1), newsprint 134.5 (117.2), power 161.9 (145.5), coal 89.9 (86.4), steel 111.1 (76.9), automobiles 97.2 (66.8), construction 39.0 (29.4), wholesale prices 88.5 (75.6). Bauxite imports were more than three times the 1929 average, copper exports double, nickel almost double, zinc more than double. Textile imports showed an increase of about 75 per cent. over the 1929 average, imports of raw cotton 50 per cent., slaughtering 50 per cent., asbestos exports more than 30 per cent., petroleum imports about 25 per cent., lead production (May, latest available) 25 per cent. The iron and steel index for May was 78.3 (61.3 last year). Construction for the first seven months was 38 per cent. above last year, and contemplated building is 61 per cent. higher.

Employment

Employment on July 1 was greater than in any July on record except 1929. For all industries, the index on the 1929 base was 100.1 (87.9 last year), for manufacturing 101.6 (89.4), mining 127.9 (111.7), pulp and paper 102.6 (88.2), power 97.2 (92.7), coal mining 77.6 (77.8), crude, rolled and forged products 106.4 (77.9), automobile and parts 104.0 (80.5), construction 99.1 (75.1), building 51.4 (37.9). Taking July 1929 as 100, the index for construction employment on July 1, 1937 would be 78.1, for building 46.8. Employment in iron and steel on June 1, 1937, was 89.1 (1929 average—100) (72.6 last year).

Note how employment continues, in most of these industries, to lag behind production. Iron and steel generally, and automobiles and parts, as usual show the opposite tendency, probably in part at least because of changes in hours of labour (See "Recovery: For Whom?" August Forum). But while iron and steel production in May rose 27.7 per cent. from May 1936, employment rose only 24.4 per cent.; automobile production rose 45.5 per cent., employment in the automobiles and parts industry 29.2 per cent.

Unemployment and Relief

According to the National Employment Commission, total numbers on direct relief in April, May and June were: April, 1,181,000; May, 1,118,000, June, 932,000; decreases from last year of 10.8, 3.9 and 16 per cent. respectively. Excluding New Brunswick (which has "abolished" direct relief), the decreases were: April 6.9, May 0.8, June 11.6. Excluding New Brunswick and the drought areas, the totals decreased by: April 8.6, May 5.9, June

17.3. (1936 figures from the Report of the Unemployment Relief Commissioner.) The June figures would be more gratifying if we had not good reason to suspect that to some degree they are the result of "administrative measures." Evidently more of the same is in store, for the Commission's bulletin observes that relief scales "should be such as will make employment at normal wages for unskilled workers the more advantageous alternative," a sentence which marks the capitulation of the government to the demands of "business."

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics' estimates of wage earners unemployed (last published for November 1936) are: December 1936, 502,000 (decrease of 8.1 per cent. from the previous year), January 1937, 500,000 (decrease 10.1), February 521,000 (decrease 4.4), March 519,000 (decrease 8.6), April 481,000 (decrease 11.4), May 375,000 (decrease 26.8). Employable persons on relief in June the Commission estimates at "probably less than 200,000" (a decrease of 25.7 per cent.) It is not easy to see how this figure is arrived at. The Commission says that in March 1937, 21.6 per cent. of those on relief were employable. Applied to the June total this gives over 201,000 employable (a decrease of 25.2 per cent.) In June 1936, 25.5 per cent. of the total were employable; applying this to the June 1937 total gives 235,000 (decrease 12.6 per cent.) Assuming that the relationship between "total unemployed" and "employable persons on relief" was the same as in May or June 1936, total unemployment in June 1937 would be somewhere between 355,000 and 358,000.

DIVIDENDS AND BOND INTEREST

Gross dividends and bond interest for the first eight months of 1929, 1936 and 1937, according to the Financial Post, were:

	1929	1936	1937
Dividends	\$140,988,387	\$147,336,409	\$180,869,664
Bond interest	166,143,957	268,540,735	282,098,909

These figures should be accepted with reserve, for 1937 dividends were thus 22.7 per cent. above 1936, and 28.3 per cent. above 1929; 1937 bond interest 5.4 per cent. above 1936 and 69.8 per cent. above 1929. they not only include double counting but also make no allowance for changes in dates of payment. The Nesbitt, Thomson dividend index for July, on the 1929 base, was 96.7, for the seven months 92.1. Nesbitt, Thomson point out that this index (which excludes gold mining) "is now very close to the 1929 level, and yet the pulp and paper industry . . . Canada's largest manufacturing industry . . . is not making any great contribution to the total as was the case in 1929." A table shows 1936 dividends of this industry as only 10.2 per cent. of 1929.

Wanted--Complete Relief Statistics

THE NATIONAL Employment Commission is to be congratulated on issuing its first "Information Service" on the relief situation. The most notable features of the bulletin are: (1) an analysis of relief figures for March 1937 showing employable persons 21.6 per cent. of the total, unemployable 4.8 per cent., farmers and their dependents 27.2, "non-worker type dependents" 46.8; (2) grand totals of direct relief recipients for April, May and June; (3) the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' estimates of wage earners unemployed in March, April and May; (4) charts of the distribution of relief recipients "by worker status and type of locality."

This is an excellent beginning. Hitherto our statistics of unemployment and relief have been made available only by fits and starts, at long and irregular intervals, and often after what seems unreasonable delay. The Commission apparently intends to give us at least some information regularly and promptly.

So far so good; but it is not enough. One of the worst faults of previous statistics has been their disregard for continuity in the figures they have presented. This fault the Commission's bulletin does little to remedy. The 1937 Report of the Dominion Commissioner of Unemployment Relief, and Mr. J. K. Houston's Supplement to the Labour Gazette of January 1937, both give not only grand totals of relief recipients but also totals "for the drought areas" and "exclusive of the drought areas," and numbers on relief projects. The Commission's bulletin does not. The Commissioner gives figures by provinces. Mr. Houston and the bulletin do not. Mr. Houston gives the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' estimates of wage earners unemployed, for each month from May 1932 to November 1936. The bulletin gives these for March, April and May 1937, but ignores the intervening months. The Labor Gazette for October 1936 (pp. 886 et seq.) on the whole gives the most complete figures, but only down to July 1936; and it does not even mention the D. B. S. estimates of unemployment.

These points are of more than academic importance. The drought areas are a special problem. No comparison of grand totals which lumps them in with the rest of the country is worth much. Crude comparisons even of totals exclusive of drought areas are worth little more, now that New Brunswick has "abolished" direct relief and (in part) substituted work-relief. They will be worth still less if Quebec follows New Brunswick's example, as it seems likely to do soon.

What is needed is the regular publication in the Labour Gazette or the Monthly Review of Business Statistics of at least the following: (1) total number

on direct relief, (2) number on direct relief in the drought areas, (3) number of employable persons on direct relief, (4) number of dependents of employable persons on direct relief, (5) number of farmers on direct relief, (6) number of farmers' dependents on direct relief, (7) number of unemployables on direct relief, (8) number of persons on "relief other than direct relief," classified as in the Commissioner's report or Mr. Houston's supplement (i.e., "Care of Homeless persons", provincial works other than the trans-Canada Highway, municipal works, farm placement, movement and assistance of settlers, relief settlements, federal works, (9) D.B.S. estimates of wage earners unemployed. Numbers 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8 should be given province by province.

All these figures have been given for some periods, at one time or another. Most of them probably will be given again, some time, somewhere. All of them can be had for the asking now. But it should not be necessary to ask. If we are to deal intelligently with the relief problems, all this information should be available quickly, regularly and fully, and in immediate proximity to the other data on employment, unemployment and the chief business indices.

E. A. F.

Pins For Canadian Wings

With apologies to Mr. Witter Bynner

Charles G. D. Roberts

Nature

in beribboned
spectables.

Wilson MacDonald

Wistful rebellion
in the wilderness.

E. J. Pratt

Codfish
in a Witches' Brew.

Lloyd Roberts

Hot-blooded
anaemia.

A. M. Stephen

Pan
saying his rosary
at a stampede.

Arthur S. Bourinot

Rhetoric
on skis

H. T. J. Coleman

Verses for
dear ladies.

Audrey Alexandra Brown

A Tennysonian dryad
singing Greek tragedy
by a coal mine.

PAUL SEVERIN

THIS MONTH'S COMPETITION

Report on Competition No. 7

The prize for Competition 7, a Vacation Story, Free style, is awarded to "Jane Farrell" for a pretty baffling bit of narrative. "P.D.Q." had a good idea, but the telling was rather slipshod; "Little Arthur" had a brilliant style, but the Editors still don't see the point of the story. H. Macalister deserves Honorable Mention, but exceeded the space limit much too generously.

HOW I SAVED A GIRL FROM DROWNING

The lake was very rough and I was amusing myself jumping the waves. Gradually I realized that my name was being shrieked above the roar of the wind and water. Struggling to shore, I found a little group shouting, "There's a girl drowning!" Dazed, I asked "Where?" "There, there!" they cried, pointing wildly down the beach. I could just see a cap bobbing helplessly in the waves.

"We want someone who can swim," they shouted, and at last I got the idea. They meant me. Two of the shouters were fully clothed, two couldn't swim, one was a child and the other a delicate girl from whom nothing could be expected. I was the only hope. Reluctantly I started to run. I scarcely noticed the sticks and stones over which I stumbled in my bare feet. My mind was too busy.

If you had asked me a minute before whether life was worth living, I would have replied, simply, No. But now I knew without any doubt that I didn't want to die. I also knew that I could not swim in that heaving water. And that I would have to try. This, I thought with acute distaste, is the penalty of decent upbringing. I would have to make at least a gesture.

What a relief, when I got nearer, to be sure that she was not beyond my depth! She was not in fact, in any danger—except that she had lost her head. But she was scared to death, too scared to jump the waves which were breaking over her and sweeping her off her feet while she moaned helplessly.

Fearlessly now, I plunged in. Did I breast the waves to my suffering sister and bear her in strong arms to shore? Not at all. I braved the waves to the point where she could just grasp my outstretched hand and not one inch further. Then I turned and hauled her to shore like a sack of potatoes on the end of a rope.

She didn't thank me and I never saw her again. I have lost all several times since then but never have I been quite so sure that I don't care about living as I was five minutes before that episode. That revelation was worth the few minutes of agony while I was wondering whether I could nerve myself to be noblesse enough to oblige. The really funny thing about the affair was that it was several days before I saw how funny it was.

Competition 8

(Manuscripts to be in by September 10.) Bearing in mind the movie version of Wee Willie Winkle, sketch in not more than 300 words a scenario for ONE of the following:

- (a) The Babes in the Wood.
- (b) Jack and the Beanstalk.
- (c) Red Riding Hood.

(d) Bo-Peep.

(e) Jack and Jill.

A cast should be selected.

Competition 9

(Manuscripts to be in by October 10.) A prize of \$5.00 is offered for the best Limerick employing for its major rhyme the name of any Canadian province or provincial capital. No restriction of subject. Lowest or any tender not necessarily accepted.

O CANADA!

(\$1.00 will be paid for the press clipping published at the head of this column)

Britain, God's battle-axe, has always found herself in this role, forced to fight, usually against her will, either in self defence or on behalf of weaker nations against an aggressive combination. That is why Great Britain always wins her wars in the end.—(Letter in Regina Leader-Post.)

* * *

A monument should be erected on the Canadian-United States border as an international tribute to Premier Hepburn, of Ontario, and Tom M. Girdler, of the Republic Steel Corporation, as the "men who met Moscow in the gateway and thrust it back," in the opinion of Sir James Dunn, head of the Algoma Steel Corporation.—(Special Dispatch to Globe and Mail, Toronto.)

* * *

"I had a lot of trouble getting rid of the disorderly houses on Mayor street; but after I had insisted and persisted for a long time, the police asked if I would be willing to go into court myself and testify. I said I certainly would.

Then things began to happen. Within a fortnight they had closed up all three places that I had complained of."

"And they ceased to exist?"

"Oh dear, no. Those places don't cease to exist. They just move somewhere else."

"Where did they go?"

"Over into Billy Weldon's ward. I know where they are. But I got rid of them. That's all I worry about." (Interview with Alderman Quinn as printed in Montreal Star.)

* * *

This last request to "sign up" we have respectfully refused to do so, for should we accede to their wishes to "sign up" we would be disloyal to our country flag, we would be disloyal to our founder's name.—(Extract from Toronto Star by R. Score & Sons, Ltd., whose employees are on strike.)

* * *

He has transferred his philanthropy and his public interest to Nassau, where taxes are low.—(Extract from special article in the Financial Post entitled "Millionaire in Paradise," and referring to Mr. Oakes.)

* * *

A great many people today think it is disgrace to work. Probably the church is to blame—(Premier Aberhart as reported in Montreal Star.)

This month's prize is awarded by Mr. H. M. Rayner, Ituna, Sask.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

And So Victorian

AND SO—VICTORIA: Vaughan Wilkins; Jonathan Cape: pp. 571; \$2.50.

THIS IS a very, very English novel, so English that I doubt if any Englishman can properly appreciate it. It is as English, in the restricted sense, as a dish of wet cabbage, though indeed much more palatable. It deals with intrigue and adventure, mostly in high places, between the time just after Victoria's birth, and just before her accession. It displays a number of awfully nice English people, full of lovable eccentricities, with a habit of calling one another by tenderly absurd pet names, and sliding off into touching whimsicality when their emotions threaten to get the better of them. These thoroughly nice English people are bedevilled by a set of rascally Hanoverians, very mad and bad indeed, some malignant but justifiably vengeful Frenchmen, a scoundrelly Scot, a Welshman of dubious morality, and an American minx no better than she should be.

There is a great deal of plain and fancy misbehaviour, plenty of nasty people and nasty language—indeed, spades, clearly labelled in block letters, are neatly stacked in all possible corners—but somehow the author never seems to relish rascality enough to get really worked up about it. A faint aroma of disapproval clings over the narrative, a decorous distaste. These horrid people, the author seems to be saying, as he pinches his nostrils slightly, are really not quite nice. The children of George III were undoubtedly a pretty nasty lot; but they do seem to have had a certain gross plethoric vitality. You'd never guess it from this book. There are plenty of intended monsters, but they have no trace of the gusto that Thackeray or Dickens might have put into them. Time and again one feels that one's flesh should be creeping at this point, but not a hair budge. A curiously innocent book, on the whole.

As innocent, in fact, as its hero. Mr. Wilkins has succeeded—perhaps he did it for a bet—in producing a hero even more passive than Vergil's Aeneas; he never does anything, things merely happen to him. It's rather curious, how time and again he is placed in a position where he ought to do something, and wants to do something, but he's never allowed. He wanders through the book in a haze of happy or unhappy accidents, helpful or unhelpful friends, a primly bewildered Galahad, seldom doing the wrong thing, or the right one, until in the last couple of chapters he is permitted as a special treat to put a bullet through his father's

throat, more by good luck than good shooting, and to procure a little high-minded forgery. But except for one unfortunate episode when the minx, to his horror, seduced him (though she was already married to another man!) he remained all through as pure as the driven curd. So I suppose he really had a good heart, anyway.

There is a wealth of corroborative detail intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative; and some of it, particularly the scenes among the child-slaves, is affecting enough, and the feeling of general unrest and disaffection is effectively suggested. How much is history, how much conjecture, how much invention, it would be tedious to discuss, nor does it matter very much. The choice of title, except as a bait to catch sales, does not seem thoroughly justified. The characters have little genuine reality, and their language is often pretty stilted. In fact, the book can best be summed up by saying that it reads like the novelized version of a movie. But it can be amusing, and even instructive, if read in the proper spirit.

L. A. MacKAY.

A Coleridge

LETTERS OF HARTLEY COLERIDGE: edited by Grace Evelyn Griggs and Earl Leslie Griggs, London, O.U.P., 1936; pp. 328.

IT IS STRANGE to reflect that in this day of the multitudinous making of books no selection from the letters of Hartley Coleridge has hitherto been published. He lived in an age when letter writing was a delightful art, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that he was one of its most delightful practitioners. Hartley Coleridge had many faults but dullness was never one of them. Moreover, his loving, generous nature, his capacity for deriving pleasure from the simplest things, his curiosity, his intellectual power, his other-worldliness, his humour, his delight in adequate and original expression of ideas, all combine to make the reading of his letters an experience of intense pleasure. His editors have chosen to tell the story of his ejection from his Oriel fellowship in minutest detail—perhaps in somewhat tedious detail. With this exception there is hardly a dull page in the volume.

Perhaps the chief interest of these letters is in the opportunity they give us to make the acquaintance of Hartley himself—brilliant, self analytic, incompetent, altogether lovable—he reminds one of no one except his more famous father. He lived the last twenty-six years of his life in the Lake Country

separated from his father, mother, brother and sister, to all of whom he felt the most affectionate devotion. Everyone was good to him and loved him, but he lived alone by the very necessity of his nature, and periodically distressed his friends by disappearing on long, aimless rambles. From time to time he visited Gretna Hall and Rydal Mount where he was always welcomed warmly. He wrote continually if spasmodically for the magazines, but he was always in money difficulties. Derwent and Sara sent him clothes, and the Wordsworths and Southseys never wearied in sympathetic understanding. To the worldly-wise he was simply a pathetic failure, but by us who read his letters after the passing of a century serious doubts may be entertained as to the judgment of the worldly-wise. For he had his compensations. He was perfectly aware of his own genius and he was proud of his family. When Derwent Coleridge became the father of a son Hartley wrote to his brother: "One thing only I hope, i.e., that he is in nothing, Soul or Body, like his Uncle. I mean as far as his Uncle is himself (and not a genuine Coleridge of the West); and that, if possible he may have the address and self-possession of his father, his grandfather's genius and love of truth, his grandmother's self-denial, his Aunt Sara's innocence of heart (but no male creature can retain that) and as much of the good-nature, cleverness, courage and since some defects all mortals must have, even as much of the sympathetic vanity of the Coleridges as will not interfere with his more solid virtues."

There are delightful glimpses of all the Grasmere circle. Like them Hartley was a good Conservative, but with many differences which distressed his friends. "I am much more a Tory than a Whig," he writes, "and least of all, a Democrat. Believing that the exercise of political power never has, or can have, a favourable effect on the moral Being of Men; that the strife of politics tends to weaken or pervert the holy charities which should constitute our happiness on earth, and to divert our energies from that Hereafter, for which alone we were created rational and accountable creatures, I hold it best that those prerogatives which are necessary for the safety and order of society should be placed in a few hands, and that to them power should rather be an inheritance than a conquest." One of his political doctrines should endear him to many in our own day when he insists that "the well disposed labourer shall not be tyrannized over by unions or combinations (a duty of government very grossly neglected of late)." But he was blind only north-north-west: on other occasions he could see clearly enough. "What a pity," he writes, "that Sir T. Lethbridge is not in Parliament. Representation is not, ought not to be local. It is enough if each interest, each caste and denomination of society are ade-

quately represented. Now I hold that the Blockheads, a large, powerful, exceedingly respectable, undeniably loyal and almost exclusively orthodox class were never so well represented as by Sir Thomas—who contrived to be a mere and complete Blockhead, without ever ceasing to be a gentleman. No man can say that Sir T. Lethbridge ever made a fool of himself, far less a buffoon or blackguard; he seems always to have made the best of the brain which niggard nature allowed him. Why did he rat? (Sir Thomas had been in favour of Catholic Emancipation). As a pro-Catholic, I always rejoiced in his opposition; as a friend to human nature, I lament his defection. When a man has nothing to recommend him but his honesty, no fraction is vulgar enough to express his worth, when he has ceased to be honest."

And here is a final example of his caustic penetrating common sense, this time at the expense of Mrs. Hemans: "She is an agreeable woman but she is not unconscious of her reputation—looks, dresses and talks with a certain aim at effect which though the most excusable of all foibles is not the most commonly excused. What a blessing is stupidity! Besides its other advantages, it confers the reputation of good sense, good-breeding, good nature, good politics, good faith, good works; never if you would pass for a thoroughly good sort of man and a finished gentleman, say anything above the capacity of the dullest man in company—especially if the dull man be older or richer than your self."

Hartley Coleridge has been a wraith-like figure in English Literature. This volume of his letters should do more than his fragmentary biographies, essays and poems to reveal him to us as his friends knew him—a man of genius, humorous in a highly individualized whimsical, fashion, penetrating in his observations on life and letters and beloved by all good men and women, learned or simple. I have been wondering whether he and Charles Lamb ever met.

MALCOLM W. WALLACE.

A Wellsian Lecture

STAR-BEGOTTEN: H. G. Wells; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 217; \$2.00.

IHATE common humanity. This oafish crowd which tramples the ground when my cloud-capped pinnacles might rise. I am tired of humanity—beyond measure. Take it away. This gaping, stinking, bombing, shooting, throat slitting, cringing brawl of gawky, undernourished riff-raff. Clear the earth of them."

H. G. Wells, who has dreamed so many dreams, and himself done so much to spread the ideas that would make a better world and lift common humanity to a happier plane, must often, I imagine, share the feelings thus expressed by his Professor Keppel. But, brave man that he is, he will not give up hope. And for this we, his heirs in a sense, are deeply grateful. The idea that

breaks upon the world and Mr. Joseph Davis in this book is but a new mythical solution of the old problem which has worried Mr. Wells for so long; how to bring together in an "open conspiracy" the same men and women, the builders who could make a human society in its true sense, if they could but combine effectively against the destroyers, the brutes who more and more urgently threaten civilization—and against the destroying element in themselves.

Here it is a new race of 'Martians' brought about by the action of cosmic rays. But the mythical framework matters little. This could not have been said of the earlier Wells, nor even of Mr. Blettsworthy or The Croquet Player. In a sense the present book supplements The Player; there we had the horror of decay, here the persistent hope of better things, though one must regret that Mr. Wells has not seen fit to give us another imaginative picture of his better world, or shown his Martians at work. What he has given us is in effect a series of conversations about the earlier stages of the discovery. Perhaps he has tired of writing imaginative pictures for those who will not understand his meaning.

Mr. Wells' manner of writing—if this may be said without impertinence—is ever more limpid, more direct and compact. There are many passages here of a simple, concise lucidity that delights the reader. And I for one enjoy being lectured by Mr. Wells, though I hope he will still take us upon another of those magnificent voyages of the imagination where he can guide as none else can.

G. M. A. GRUBE.

Pacific Affairs

PEACE ADVENTURE: John Martin; Saunders (Hodge); Press; pp. 206; 50c.

PEACE OR WAR: H. S. Quigley; University of Minnesota pp. 210; \$2.50.

The editor of Peace Or War, a collection of eleven addresses delivered in April at the University of Minnesota, has every right to claim that "it would be difficult to find within so convenient a compass as this little book a saner, better informed, or more balanced discussion of the present international crisis." He might have added that it is impossible to find better value for half a dollar. The addresses are academic in the best sense: they are lucid, dispassionate and for the most part free from prejudices. Especially interesting to us are those specifically dealing with American armaments and foreign policy. In this company Lieutenant-Colonel Potter stands out as the somewhat complacent and unquestioning, certainly superficial, hundred per center. To his point of view the more stringent and less rhetorical Mr. Stone presents a heartening contrast, and Professor Turlington's 'Security Through Neutrality?' makes some valuable suggestions upon this thorny problem. Among the addresses on more general topics, Mr. B. B. Wallace's 'Fallacies of Economic Nationalism' critically examines the Italian, German and Japanese complaints regarding raw materials, population, etc., and points to some basic fallacies of their case, while his lack of sympathy is corrected in the address of Prof. Hansen. Prof. Deutsch gives an able analysis of the situation in terms of power-politics. There is also a suggestive essay on the requirements and means of propaganda by Prof. Odegard.

Peace Adventure is a somewhat disappointing book. Mr. Martin does not do justice to the full pacifist position and is more concerned with its compatibility with Chris-

tianity than with its soundness. He rightly pleads for a united front among all pacifists (real and so-called) on a definite program. This naturally applies to England in the first instance, and includes the now widely discussed internationalisation of colonies. In his examination of alternative ways of preventing war, Mr. Martin's position is generally sound, but his style rather diffuse and repetitive. In a book which does not make any very original contribution to the problem, conciseness and clarity are of special importance: here the author unfortunately does not do his point of view entire justice. But his book, and himself, should do something to crystallise an immediate program without neglecting ultimate factors. I confess that as a Socialist, I was somewhat irritated by the gentleness of his reference to the class struggle.

MAX REINERS.

The Orient

THE FAR EAST IN WORLD POLITICS: G. F. Hudson, Oxford University Press.... pp. 276; \$2.25.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PACIFIC: Gregory Blensstock; Nelson (Allen & Unwin) pp. 299; \$3.75.

THERE has been a potable revival of interest in the Far East. During the past year a surprising number of first class books have brought before the Western reading public the essentials of the Oriental situation. But the very facts which make the Pacific problem urgent complicate an author's task. Of late, Japanese political developments have been notoriously difficult to gauge; the future is extremely uncertain, and the predictions of one day are falsified by the events of the next.

To a certain extent both these works illustrate the problems which beset an author. They also emphasize the value of this kind of work. Mr. Hudson, in particular, has given us a most useful little book. In less than three hundred pages he supplies a remarkably clear and detached account of developments in the Far East during the last hundred years. He obviously knows his facts and has mastered the history of the period; otherwise he could scarcely have compressed so rigidly without losing a sense of proportion. He indicates with skill and imagination the forces which dictated the policy of the different powers, and the whole story unfolds with refreshing clarity. Mr. Hudson is particularly successful in his treatment of the post war period.

"The Struggle For the Pacific" is a work of considerable interest. Both in size and scope it is far more ambitious than Mr. Hudson's book, but it is clearly more open to criticism. For one thing, it was originally written nearly two years ago, and during that time the situation has notably changed. Moreover, Mr. Blensstock permitted himself the luxury of prophecy, and events are even now proving the fallibility of many of his predictions.

The book certainly has its merits. The author is concerned with the underlying factors which produced the present situations. He not only examines the history of events; he traces the course of migration among Asiatic as well as Anglo-Saxon peoples; he discusses railways, air lines, the shift in world trade, the fluctuations of shipping tonnage, and all the other forces which contributed to the emergence of the Far East as an important factor in the modern world. Many of his statements are supported by tables of statistics. Some of the figures have the great drawback of being no more recent than 1931,

and, in the case of Northern China this discounts their value heavily. Some of his statements are also open to question. He is familiar with Japanese sources of information, but one sometimes wonders how well he knows the country or the people. This is especially true in the case of his very interesting construction of possible wars in the Far East. In estimating strategical advantages he considers Japan's position strong, but it is a byword that an "army moves on its stomach," and Mr. Bienstock makes no reference to the inadequacy of Japan's domestic food supply.

It is safe to say that if Mr. Bienstock had been a little less ambitious in his scope, his work would have been considerably more valuable. It is probably not his fault that the English translation of his book is not always very happy but he has a compensating advantage. As a Czech he occupies a neutral position. He has a certain detachment of outlook which is a valuable asset; it gives point and emphasis to many of his conclusions. We live, he claims, in an age when moral factors have lost their influence in international affairs. The rise of the Orient means that the balance of power is a world-wide affair, and Europe must awaken to the fact. In determining that balance there is no such thing as eternal enmity or friendship. The decisive factor is the interplay of radical and conservative elements. In the modern world, even "conservatism has got to be progressive or disappear."

GERALD CRAGG.

Appreciation and Criticism

DESIGN: A Treatise on the Discovery of Form. Percy E. Nobbs, Oxford University Press; \$9.00.

FROM his professional chair in McGill, Professor Nobbs has looked the world up and down with a pretty critical eye . . . particularly that part of it which he describes as "the material reduced by Man for his service—the apparatus of life." Although Architecture is the central subject of this treatise, the same methods of criticism and the same attitude of appreciation are extended towards ships, swords, sculpture, clothes, chairs, ceramics and all other conceivable kinds of apparatus.

Equipped with an unusually extensive repertoire of information, Professor Nobbs engages in a philosophical fencing match in which the reader is at a considerable disadvantage because the author makes up the rules as he goes along, attacking here, there and elsewhere, until we are confused as to who is which and who started the argument anyway. Professor Nobbs is a vigorous thinker with a highly educated power of appreciation; to him the world is a place of such absorbing interest that he prefers to wander along parenthetical by-paths of enjoyment rather than pursue the logical route to an ultimate goal. This makes him a difficult guide to follow through the jungle of artistic philosophy; but the experience is an adventure worth making.

The author's delight in certain works of design on account of their perfect "synthesis of purpose, material and technique" would make most of us label him an 'evolutionary functionalist'. Good design emerges out of the satisfaction of present requirements of use and structure, influenced by antecedent traditions and associations. If this is a correct interpretation of the author's artistic philosophy it would seem to lead him inevitably towards an appreciation of what we know as "modern" architecture and design. And yet there is no reference in this book to the whole post-war development of architecture

or to the great designers with whose names the modern school is associated. The omission is remarkable.

The fact is that even the most logical of the Professor's arguments is shadowed by vigorous personal prejudices which allow him to escape from logical conclusions. For example, after building up for us a system of appreciation based on the reasonable synthesis of purpose and material, he declares it to be an "astounding technical achievement" and "no fault in Norman Shaw's Scotland Yard is that his composition comprises types of windows evolved at various times over a period of two hundred and fifty years. It is a great merit that these occur where each kind is most serviceable." To those of us brought up in the modern tradition this kind of thing is utterly baffling. Those of us who are trying to establish a tradition of design belonging to our own time had better not join Professor Nobbs in turning such intellectual somersaults.

If Professor Nobbs keeps us guessing, he also keeps us entertained. This is no academic text-book but the exposition of an interesting mind. If the author will forgive such a left-handed compliment, it is the very eccentricities and illogicalities of his theme that give this book its strong personal character . . . and that perhaps is the very basis of the argument here pursued with such a sharp wit, an enquiring mind and a delightful vocabulary. If a design has not character not all the stylistic correctness in the world can retrieve it from dullness.

Artistic dogmatists often suffer from a sickening lucidity. If you are bored with the design of everything around you, their plausible theories can give little refreshment. On such occasions you would be well recommended to turn to Professor Nobbs; you may enjoy disagreeing with him; he will give you activity, amusement and a new interest in the things about you.

HUMPHREY CARVER.

A Housing Text Book

HOUSING: A European Survey by the "Building Centre" Committee. Vol. 1. England, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain. Rolls House Publishing Co., Ltd. 30/-.

It were not for its importance in the bibliography of Housing this book could have been received favourably as a landmark in descriptive literature. The resources of typography, photography and diagramography have seldom been used with greater skill than in this admirably organized survey of a complex subject which has hitherto defied comprehensive analysis. It is a too common fault of works on technical subjects that the English language is strained to a vocabulary of horrid polysyllability which discomforts the reader and defeats the translator. The conceptions and creations of the modern world have become so elaborated that the written word is often found to be a clumsy vehicle for the conveying of contemporary ideas and groups of associated facts. Certain statements are most effectively made in statistical form, certain impressions can only be transferred through the medium of photography, certain ideas can only be conveyed by words and sentences and there is a whole realm of information which can only be presented intelligibly in diagram or plan form. The team which has co-operated in the composition of this survey of European Housing has been successful in reducing each of these mediums to a form as standardised as typography

itself; in this way it has been possible to employ in a single volume an abundance of exact information without burdening the reader with tedious encyclopedic pages. Even the layman will find that the standardised type of plan employed is as easily legible as letterpress.

The aim of this group of researchers has not been to eulogise a few choice schemes of exceptional merit, but to document the average and typical examples of good housing. Thus for the first time in a book on Housing we are spared the personal enthusiasms and aesthetic predilections of a single observer, and given only the normal facts concerning the new "folk" building which is gradually superseding the individualist slum. Each scheme is subjected to the same routine of analysis: first, the whole layout of a scheme on its site is described, then a typical group of dwellings is selected to show their relationship to one another, then the dwellings themselves are detailed to show the arrangement and accommodation that is provided for families of various sizes. Each analytical process is performed on a single page with plan facing. To each sub-division of the book an introductory passage is supplied surveying the social, industrial and geographical environment of each area surveyed. It is understood that in a later volume of the series some comparative figures will be extracted.

With this book the already extensive literature of Housing enters upon a new phase. It will now be possible to write books about what is in this book which now becomes the standard work on the subject.

HUMPHREY CARVER.

Entertaining

SMALL TALK: Harold Nicolson; Macmillan (Constable); pp. 248; \$1.75.

MR. NICOLSON'S book is true to its title. He writes pleasantly on a number of topics that but rarely touch any fundamental issue, but which nevertheless can make life easier in a thousand ways. He affects a certain irresponsibility such as he classes as Edwardian when protesting against the excessive seriousness of the younger generation. Well read, well travelled and well fed, he takes us with him here, there and everywhere and proves a delightful companion as he discourses on shyness, cant, coincidences, books and the like. This is essentially not a book to read when life is earnest and you yourself preoccupied with its greater problems. Unless you seek out Mr. Nicolson as a cure for overwork and are willing to relax a while and let your mind be entertained by the contemplation of the less urgent aspects of human behaviour.

I have often thought that there should be established a Ministry of Things of No Importance to do for our comfort the thousand things we can agree on, but for which our politicians have no time. This book is a literary counterpart to that Ministry. You may not always agree with the author—he doesn't himself—but you will like his essays.

G. M. A.G.

Indian Co-operation

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB:

Ata Ullah. Nelson (Allen & Unwin) pp. 512; \$4.75.

THANKS to a series of able and energetic British civil servants who have directed the co-operative movement in the Punjab for the past thirty years, this province is recognized in India as a leader in that particular field. A book dealing with this subject should therefore prove of value to those interested in a world study of co-operation. Mr. Ata Ullah's work, although inclined to be unnecessarily verbose, meets the need admirably. Above all things it is frank, no attempt being made to gloss over failures or weaknesses of the movement.

One learns from it much about the Indian money lender, the conservative and illiterate peasant and the all too frequent corrupt Indian official. These have proved the main obstacles to the progress of co-operation in India. There has, in addition, been, here as elsewhere in India, an almost foolhardy experiment with different forms of agricultural co-operation, many of which, requiring as they do a degree of intelligence and integrity far in excess of that available in the Indian village, were foredoomed to failure. However, out of these numerous experiments in the Punjab has come at least one unique success. This is the development of co-operative organizations for the consolidation of scattered agricultural holdings.

Hindu and Muslim laws of inheritance provide for the division of the ancestral property among the children on the death of the father. This has led to a subdivision of holdings which to one unfamiliar with rural India, would seem almost incredible. As an instance may be quoted the case of a land owner whose total holding of ten acres was divided into eighty-four separate blocks scattered throughout the village. Thanks almost entirely to the efforts of a very able Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Mr. H. Calvert, in many villages farmers have been induced through co-operation to exchange small plots so as to consolidate individual holdings into compact blocks. In the case cited above the eighty-four fields were replaced by two.

Consolidation by cutting out numerous boundary strips has increased the cultivable area, has enhanced land values and has, at the same time, greatly stimulated the introduction of improved agricultural methods. It has further made possible the introduction of legislation aiming at the consolidation of holdings throughout the province.

The interest of the book for Canadian readers is enhanced by Mr. C. R. Fay's introduction.

L. C. COLEMAN.

Indian Culture

THE LEGACY OF INDIA: Edited by G. T. Garratt; Oxford University Press; pp. 428; \$3.00.

THIS book is one of a series intended to give some idea of the contributions made by different cultures of the past to our present civilization. Like previous books of the series, it is the work of a number of well-qualified authors, each dealing with a different phase of the subject. In the present case no less than fourteen authors contributed and in addition the Marquess of Zetland, a former Governor of Bengal and a sympathetic interpreter of India to the western reader, furnishes an interesting introduction.

As is to be expected, the book varies greatly from chapter to chapter in style and in interest for the general reader. To those who do not realize the extent to which cultured Indians have command of English, it may come as a surprise that the most clearly-written, as well as the most interesting chapters are those by Indians. The three chapters on Philosophy by S. N. Das Gupta, on Caste and the Structure of Society, by R. P. Masani, and on Hinduism, by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, could hardly be bettered. One does not need to be a specialist to follow these expositions with interest.

The same can hardly be said of some of the other chapters. The reviewer found those on India, Art and Archaeology particularly heavy going, while the illustrations from photographs by the author could certainly have been more representative.

Perhaps the most interesting for the Canadian reader is the chapter on Indo-British Civilization, by Mr. G. T. Garratt, the editor. He points out that the British connection with India has led to nothing strikingly new in literature or art. In the field of literature, Kipling is of course, outstanding, but his novels and Tales of India would not be acknowledged by educated Indians as real interpretations of the life of the country. The reviewer well remembers the shock he received on discovering that Kipling was almost unknown or at the best unappreciated by Indians to whom the great English authors were more familiar than to most Englishmen.

The effect of the contact of Great Britain and India on literature produced by Indians has been even more meagre. A few minor poets writing in English, have emerged, the most notable being Mrs. Sarozini Naidu. She, like most of the others, has in recent years deserted literature for politics. It is probably that, as the Marquess of Zetland points out, Mr. Garratt expects too much. After all, till the middle of the last century England's interest in India was almost purely commercial and even since that time administrators high and low, have been too occupied with the establishment and maintenance of peace and order with the development of communications and irrigation and with attempts towards economic development to pay much attention to the intellectual and artistic. The caste system on the one hand and a strong colour prejudice on the other, have militated against mutual understanding and a real fusion of the two countries.

The book as a whole gives a clear if at times rather uninspired account of India's contribution to the world.

L. C. COLEMAN.

Right But Wrong

COUNT YOUR DEAD: THEY ARE ALIVE!: Wyndham Lewis; Macmillan; pp. 358; \$2.50.

NOWADAYS everyone is expected to take an extreme and belligerent attitude on every question that arises. Having once decided to go to the left or to the right, no further thought is necessary, and one can leap automatically to the correct position by the force of blind prejudice. The only position for anyone who values his integrity is, however, on the fence, for on each side of the fence is a morass of lies. Occasionally a short excursion may be made on dry land on either side of the fence, but having found a dry spot on one side is no reason why one should close one's eyes, abandon one's judgment and be swallowed up by the bog in an attempt to reach the promised land.

Mr. Wyndham Lewis has done good service in drawing

attention to the very unreliable nature of the press reports on Spain, but it is clear that he would replace them by equally unreliable reports with an opposite prejudice. His tendency to the right in this does not mean that he is always to be found on that side, which is refreshing; he does not, however, maintain a middle course, but can be seen wallowing up to his neck in all directions.

The cover of the book states that it is profound and witty, and a comparison is made with Voltaire and Shaw; this is outstandingly the most amusing thing in the book. It is more clearly written than any other of his books I have read, but there is still truth in his ambiguous phrase: "A great advance in clarity will have been effected if my foregoing remarks have made some impression."

C. A. ASHLEY.

Quite Simple

"THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF UNEMPLOYMENT", An address delivered to a conference of the Society of Friends; Shipley N. Brayshaw, M.N.Mech.E.; Nelson (Allen & Unwin); 30c.

MR. BRAYSHAW rushes in where economists fear to tread and sets himself the task of totally abolishing unemployment—in forty-eight pages. He believes that disarmament could be effected at the same time (the title of the original address was the even more ambitious "Economics, Industry, War and Peace"), because intelligent use of the huge sums now spent on armament would both aid the drive on unemployment and do away with the necessity of arming. His solution involves the usual hierarchy of "Councils", "Boards", "Federations", etc., but he fails to follow up this anatomical dissertation with an examination of the dynamics of change. Where he formulates policy it is of the "long run" variety and ignores "short run" repercussions. Unfortunately, humans live in the short run. The merit of the book is that it states most of the problems involved in trying to abolish unemployment. Its defect is that it does little else.

A. E. GRAUER.

Voluntary Conscription

THE MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH: L. B. Pekin; Longmans Green (Hogarth Day to Day Pamphlets); pp. 53; 50c.

THE AMAZING class distinctions of England can be better understood by reading this study of military training in English Public Schools, which correspond to our Canadian private schools. The author conclusively shows that conscription exists to all intents and purposes in 95 per cent of the schools that make up the Headmasters' Conference. From personal experience at such a school, I know full well that while the O.T.C. was not compulsory it was the lesser of two unpleasant duties, quite apart from the social stigma attached to the failure to "enlist". The unselfish wisdom, the clear thinking brilliance of British foreign policy and colonial administration is well explained when it is realized that "from 1851 to 1929, 60% of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service have been educated in the eleven most exclusive public schools" and that in the last fifty years 75% of the legal profession, 89% of the Bishops and Deans, 71% of the Indian Civil Servants, 75% of directors of banks and railways have been similarly educated.

It would be amusing if it were not tragic to find

that no school claims that the O.T.C. serves a useful military function while the War Office who directly control the school O.T.C.'s through their regulations and subsidies expressly state the purpose "to be the providing of a potential reserve of young officers and officering the Territorial army." One important point that Mr. Pekin omits is the universal dislike among the school-boys themselves of the O.T.C., who consider it a damn nuisance and would rather play rugger or cricket—a far better and healthier occupation as it has been proved that military drill is physically harmful.

This little pamphlet, the 37th of the Day to Day series, is well written and throws an interesting light on an important part of English life little known and appreciated by Canadians. It is well worth fifty cents.

M.F.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE GROUNDWORK OF ECONOMIC THEORY: J. Watson; P. S. King (London); pp. 196; 9/-.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT: Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press; pp. 371; \$5.50.

ESCAPE TO THE PRESENT: Johannes Steel; Farrar and Rinehart; pp. 303; \$2.50.

THE GREAT MIGRATION: Edwin C. Guillet; Nelson; pp. 284; \$4.00.

THIS NEW AMERICA, Story of the C.I.C.C.; A. C. Oliver and Harold M. Dudley.

THE ANOINTED: Clyde Brion Davis; Farrar and Rinehart; pp. 277; \$2.50.

MARRIAGE: Leon Blum; Lippincott; pp. 330; \$3.00.

THE NECESSITY OF PACIFICISM: John Middleton Murry; Nelson (Cape); pp. 132; \$1.00.

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